

# **A Theatrical Critique of Resilience in Culture**

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds

School of Performance and Cultural Industries  
and  
School of English

November 2018

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## **Acknowledgements**

I thank the numerous people who helped me develop and/or supported this project in different ways and at different stages of its gestation. These include Sarah Jane Bailes, Simon Bayly, Anil Biltoo, Steve Bottoms, Jen Harvie, Adrian Kear, Louise Owen, Parvathi Raman, Alan Read, Theron Schmidt, and Nicholas Wood. I also thank all of the staff and students at PCI and Workshop Theatre for having supported me throughout. I would also like to thank all the people who took part in the research and without whom my work would not have been possible. Finally, I would like to thank my supervisors Tony Gardner and Lourdes Orozco for their invaluable advice, guidance and patience as well as Anna Fenemore and Calvin Taylor. Finally, I thank my family, friends and, above all my partner, Michelle Outram, for her loving support throughout.

## Abstract

Discourses of resilience rose to prominence in the field of culture in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. In this thesis, the history of discourses and practices of resilience will be examined in order to understand how and why resilience became important in the field. I will argue that resilience discourses and practices, which concern the management of crises and risks, legitimise and effect the subsumption of semi-marketised spheres of activity and production, including that of culture. The history of resilience in culture will also reveal that its discourses and practices bear a close relationship to ecological rationales and environmental concerns. After performing a critique of dominant liberal resilience discourses and practices in cultural policy and administration through a reference to Yúdice's idea of 'culture-as-resource', I examine alternative resiliences in art and culture using Balibar's notion of 'civility'. I argue that these alternatives are more explicitly concerned with limiting the reproduction of extremes of violence tied to an intensified subsumption of culture and the different historical crises of capitalism (socio-economic and environmental). Finally, I explore the extent to which art conceived in a post-Adornoian fashion negates the subsumption that resilience discourses legitimise and that resilience practices effect, on account of its capacity to theatrically present capitalism's transgression of the social limits of the market (subsumption). This idea of art will complement the discussion of civility and will be contrasted to the ideologically legitimising or what I call, after Marcuse, the 'affirmative' role that art plays in relation to economic and political power. The main contribution to knowledge I make in this thesis is to recontextualise current critiques of resilience in culture and to offer a field-specific framework for this critique, which also contributes to recodify recent debates about art, performance and neoliberalism in the UK, notably through an integration of environmental perspectives. Finally, this research also contributes to clarifying the scope of practical and cultural materialist methodology in performance research. It does so by offering a critique of a policy rationale through art and criticism conceived as post-romantic and conceptual practices.

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## List of abbreviations

AA	Arts Admin
AFP	Arts Fundraising & Philanthropy
ANT	Actor Network Theory
ACE	Arts Council England
ACGB	Arts Council of Great Britain
BA	British Airways
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BP	British Petroleum
CIRCA	Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army
C.R.A.S.H	C.R.A.S.H – A postcapitalist A to Z
HLA	Home Live Art
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
Lab of ii	The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination
LADA	Live Art Development Agency
LGiU	Local Government Information Unit
MMM	Mission Models Money
NPO	National Portfolio Organisation
NT	The National Theatre
OI	Open Innovation
RFO	Regularly Funded Organisation
TTMR	Take the Money and Run?
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 Resilience and neoliberalism: a brief history**

#### **1.1.1 The story of the flood**

After arriving at the British Library, I make my way to the Business & IP Centre. I am late for a meeting convened for the launch of a local authority development and innovation fund. After finding the right room, I take a place on the last row of chairs. Some thirty people, all facing the front, are scattered across the space. The local authority representatives standing in front of a whiteboard have started to explain the choice of this year's theme: building resilience. The theme was chosen on account of the current crisis affecting the local authority in the wake of the budgetary cuts that followed the Conservative–Liberal Democrats coalition government coming to power in 2010. According to Camden Council (2010), the council's budget was to be cut by 25% over 4 years, leaving a gap of up to £100 million pounds. Making up for this shortfall would involve cutting jobs, streamlining departments (a 40% reduction in the administrative costs of the culture and environment department) and reducing costs of senior management by 20%. Core and peripheral services would also be affected, including the frequency of street cleaning, library services, youth services, social care and funding to third-sector organisations. During the meeting, we are told that resilience-building is one of the solutions to the crisis. In the meeting, it is defined as 'empowering people to help themselves', 'developing communities that look out for each other', 'understanding risks and challenges', 'adapting to change and

uncertainty', 'understanding your assets' and 'feeling like you have the means/skills/assets/connections to change something' (OI, 2013, no pagination).

Writing for the Local Government Information Unit (LGiU), Walker (2015) states that the term resilience has become popular with policymakers responding to various kinds of crisis and long-term social problems. A report (2012) by the Young Foundation argues that within social policy there are two common conceptions of resilience. The first is 'resilience for survival', defined as the mitigation of risks tied to crisis, shocks, and adversity, and the maintenance of core functions in the face of what the report sometimes simply terms 'change' (Young Foundation, 2012, p.7). With this, they also propose an alternative conception of adaptive resilience in which a given crisis or shock is conceived as an opportunity for the community to flourish through change.

In the Camden case both these conceptions of resilience were at work. The local authority attempted to respond to a sudden budgetary cutback that was a direct result of political decisions taken in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. An image of a flooded field, louring clouds and rain was used as part of the presentation given that morning during the meeting in order to illustrate the not-so-bright future that laid ahead of the locality. Recourse to British Red Cross definitions of resilience and the humanitarian rhetoric, more generally, made the emergency-like character of the crisis all the more salient. Despite the gloomy forecast, participants were also invited to think about the situation as an opportunity to find so-called innovative solutions to the social problems of the borough. These included new and more efficient ways of delivering services (digitally, for example) or new kinds of services. Camden-based organisations such as the Anna Freud Centre, Clean Break Theatre Company, Covent Garden Dragon Hall and LGBT Forum received substantial funds to develop programmes as diverse

as peer-to-peer parenting programmes for parents living in temporary accommodation and training courses to support vulnerable women at risk of offending, as well as pop-up LGBT programmes run in partnership with local organisations (Camden Council, 2016). The launch also included a workshop focused on scenario planning that aimed to help third-sector organisations find new ways to collectively self-manage community and organisational resources, assets and collaborations in order to minimise their reliance on the state.

It is worth delving a bit further into the Young Foundation's accounts of resilience in order to start problematising the term. In the section that addresses the idea of adaptive resilience, the city of Middlesbrough is presented as 'the least resilient place in Britain' on account of the fact that after the post-industrial economic downturn that affected the city, public investment was poured into the city to regenerate its 'failing economy' (Young Foundation, 2012, p.16). According to the report, the city is the least resilient place in Britain because it has 'become unsustainably dependent on the government' (2012, p.16). Furthermore, the report states that 'it is not difficult to see why, in the face of swinging public sector cut backs, the future for Middlesbrough is less than certain' (2012, p.16). While it might not be difficult to see why Middlesbrough has suffered badly in the face of public sector cutbacks, it is also not difficult to understand what presuppositions lie at the heart of such assessments. They barely conceal the suggestion that it is primarily through privatisation that resilience is built in the face of a major economic crisis. This same bias is at work in the counterexample provided. The report contrasts Middlesbrough with New Orleans, which was ravaged by Hurricane Katrina in 2005. It argues that the city is an exemplar of resilience despite the 'regional effects of economic downturn, government neglect and entrenched deprivation' (Young Foundation, 2012, p.17). The local population

would have cultivated local solutions to the catastrophe of Katrina, which turned out to be a ‘catalyst for resilient, innovative and adaptive change’ (2012, p.17). I do not doubt that New Orleanians learned very fast how to make do in the face of such a disaster. However, the very thin case study of the report stands at the polar opposite of other existing commentary about post-Katrina New Orleans. For instance, the journalist Naomi Klein (2007) views post-Katrina New Orleans as an experiment in disaster capitalism by which she means that policymakers used the catastrophe and crisis to implement very particular political agendas and economic reforms. In the case of New Orleans, the so-called reforms resulted in the closing of the city’s public infrastructure such as its housing projects and schools (Klein, 2007). As it happens, New Orleans was also the site of the proliferation of resilience discourses which, according to Tierney (2015), went hand in hand with the privileging of technocratic solutions to disaster vulnerability and the privatised management of collective risks.

Tierney and Klein understand these political choices as neoliberal. In order to understand whether the Camden case can be understood within this same frame of analysis, despite its differences and particularities, it is worth examining a bit further what the term signifies. ‘Neoliberal’ and ‘neoliberalism’ are overused and vague terms that pose problems of definition. Nevertheless, Susan Watkins (2010, p.7) claims that ‘some term is needed to describe the macro-economic paradigm that has predominated from the end of the 1970s until—at least— 2008’. She claims that a number of features distinguish neoliberalism from previous liberal ideologies and programmes:

First, its Americanness: from Carter on, the neo-liberal programme has been developed and propagated by US-led institutions and propounded as

international policy by the US state. American multinationals and financial giants have been among its principal beneficiaries and it has been experienced in many parts of the world as the Americanization of economies, cultures and societies. Second, its enemies: the social-democratic post-war settlement, organized labour, state socialism. Whereas Victorian-era laissez-faire tried to hold the line against a coming world of protectionism, the genius of neo-liberalism has lain in the destruction and expropriation of existing structures and goods: privatization of utilities, de-unionization of labour, means-testing of universal benefits, removal of tariffs and capital controls (Watkins, 2010, p.7).

Other terms are often used in connection to or instead of neoliberalism, which first and foremost denotes a doctrine. Commonly used terms include financial capitalism and post-Fordist capitalism, which refer to particular regimes of accumulation that admittedly each imply slightly different temporalities and geopolitical scales. These different names are invariably connected to that of globalisation, a term that denotes not so much the becoming-world of the economy (capitalism has existed as a world system for over four centuries at least) as its planetarisation after the First World won the Cold War, and after the triumph of what Beck (2000) understands as the ideology of globalism: ‘the view that the world market supplants political action – that is the ideology of rule by the world market, the ideology of neo-liberalism’ (p.9).

In this thesis, I will also use the term transnational financial capitalism or globalised capitalism to denote a global capitalism dominated by finance. It is important to note that a number of writers have shown that the emergence of the neoliberal doctrine and financialised capitalism is connected to a long-term crisis of capitalist accumulation in its old centres. Streeck (2014, 2011) argues that the global economic crisis of the 1970s, which saw the post-war high economic growth

gradually decline in so-called developed countries and saw a rise in inflation across many of its economies, led to disinflationist and restrictive monetary policies that are generally associated with neoliberal doctrine. These policies resulted in an acute rise in unemployment, a weakening of labour and were accompanied by a soaring public debt. As Fraser (2016) suggests, in so-called developing countries, which are sometimes thought as having provided the testing ground for neoliberalism, many emerging post-colonial, socialist and non-aligned states were gradually subjected to draconian financial strictures in which debt also functioned as a key disciplinary mechanism of governance. Although differently subject to these trends, developed countries were not exempt. According to Streeck (2014, 2011), debt ultimately led to the justification of public expenditure cuts from the late 1980s onwards, further financial deregulation as well as the privatisation of debt (growth of consumer and individual debt) needed to shore up a still stagnant growth. Finally, the bailing out of the financial sector after the 2008 crash led to public debt rising again; this debt is used by the very same financial institutions to pressure governments into taking new and more draconian 'austerity' measures.

The cuts to Camden's local authority budget and the emergence of resilience discourses as discourses of crisis management should be understood within this larger historical context. For the last 30 to 40 years, the UK population has been programmatically subjected to the kind of strictures that Streeck (2014, 2011) and Watson (2010) describe, with 2008 marking what appears to be the start of a new sequence in this history. Since 2010, according to Full Fact (2017), local authorities have had their funding from central government cut by close to 40%, which has translated into an average of 26% real cut to budgets. Social security, including housing, unemployment and disability benefits, has been overhauled or

considerably diminished by what Davies (2016, p.122) has called a new kind of ‘vindictive’ policymaking. Finally, the entry fees for higher education have been hiked up over the last decade and a half to make Britain’s higher education one of the most expensive to access in the world, according to the daily newspaper *The Independent* (Kentish, 2017).

Watkins (2010), Streeck (2014, 2011) and Davies (2016), among others, raise the important question of whether the new sequence that started in 2008 constitutes a break from the neoliberal paradigm. While Watkins (2010) indicates that the ground may be shifting in the longer term, her reflections suggest that current events and changes in political programmes seem to be only inflections on the existing paradigm. Writing seven years later, after Trump’s election, the Brexit referendum and the mounting of popular resentment against political elites, Streeck (2017) makes a somewhat different assessment. He claims, after Gramsci, that we are at the start of an ‘interregnum’, defined as ‘a period of uncertain duration in which an old order is dying but a new one cannot yet be born’ (2017, p.14). Famously, Gramsci claimed that in this kind of very insecure and uncertain period ‘a great variety of morbid symptoms appear’ that are the expression of the anomie and friction produced by a dying order or system (Gramsci, 1971, p.276).

Although important, this debate about the status of neoliberalism is somewhat secondary for the discussion of this thesis. What remains clear is the current contradictions and, if we follow Streeck’s (2014, 2011) view, long-term crisis of capitalism, the multidimensional character of which later sections explore in more detail, are as yet unresolved. It is with this context and crisis in mind that the notion of resilience, the history of which coincides with that of neoliberalism, should be analysed and understood. The next section explores the history of resilience in more detail.



### **1.1.2 Resilience, crisis management and ecological rationality**

Walker and Cooper (2011) claim that the idea of resilience finds its origins in the post-war second wave of cybernetic theory, which later formed the basis for the development of complexity and systems theory. They claim that it is in the field of ecosystem management, at the hand of scholars interested in complexity theory, that influential conceptions of resilience and risk management developed in the mid 1970s. According to the conception of ecosystem management promoted by the scientist C.S. Holling (1973), through which he challenged theories of maximum sustainable yield in the sphere of agriculture, a given environment was to be understood as emergent and path-dependent instead of stable. Thus, Walker and Cooper (2011) claim, Holling developed a conception of resilience that could account for an ecosystem's capacity 'to remain cohesive even while undergoing extreme perturbations' (p.146).

Walker and Cooper argue that resilience discourses and the ecological rationality of risk management that these discourses presuppose spread to different fields on account of their 'ideological fit' with neoliberal economic discourse (2011, p.154). In particular, they argue that aspects of the neoliberal economic theory of Hayek are characterised by a similar kind of rationalisation of unpredictability understood as a natural and beneficial feature of economic markets. In practice, the authors trace how, in a US context, the notion of resilience gained ground when Clinton's administration was selling off its public assets, suggesting that the emergence of the term in administration was symptomatic, just like in Britain today, of the government's anxieties over the performance of an increasingly privatised infrastructure. Finally, the authors trace the subsequent spread of the term and a broader eco-social rationality of risk management to a

number of other spheres, including disaster and natural asset management, urbanism and urban planning, security and anti-terrorism after 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 and the London terror attacks of 2005, international development, and financial risk management after the 2008 crash.

A number of other critics also have noted the increasing ubiquity of resilience across a number of development and security-related institutions. Neocleous (2013) argues that resilience has become 'one of the key political categories of our time' and is fast 'subsuming and surpassing the logic of security' in fields as diverse as domestic security and counter-terrorism, emergency management as well as finance (2013, p.3). According to him, typing 'resilience' into the International Monetary Fund's search box generates an incredible 2,000 hits, and another 1,730 hits are allegedly generated when the term 'resilient' is used. The idea appears to be nothing less than a new policy obsession of the institutions that have, over the years, played a crucial role in maintaining the neoliberal paradigm in place. And such an obsession today may well express, as Neocleous (2013) suggests, an anxiety over the survival of the system in a time when ideas and possibilities for change have failed to gain ground.

Evans and Reid (2014) rejoin this analysis in an important book-length critique of resilience, useful for the manner in which it specifies the historical relation between resilience, on the one hand, and discourses of global sustainable development and climate change, on the other. Their analysis brings out the multidimensional crisis of the capitalist system and suggests that the ubiquity of resilience in grey literature and policy is partly tied to the historical co-optation of sustainable development discourses from the 1990s onwards. Environmental discourses were once key to forming the basis of progressive (anti-capitalist) conceptions of sustainability. However, they argue that, as the question of

sustainability became increasingly understood as resolvable within the boundaries of capitalism, environmental sustainability practices and discourses also became increasingly compatible with the basic tenets of capitalism. In the age of climate crisis and neoliberal capitalism, the authors also argue that resilience, which bears a close relation to sustainability discourses, has replaced the goal of achieving security with the injunction to embrace uncertainty.

Finally, Chandler (2013) places resilience within the history of what he terms, in a rather ungainly fashion, the ‘societalisation of security’ (p.210), which he also relates to the ecological character of the discourse. Chandler states in a co-authored book that these ‘new forms of neoliberal governance appear as ways of “empowering”, “capability-building” [...] enabling neoliberal subjects to take societal responsibility upon themselves and their communities’ (Chandler and Reid, 2016, p.11). Elsewhere, he states that ‘this proactive engagement is understood to be preventive, not in the sense of preventing future disaster or catastrophe but in preventing the disruptive or destabilizing effects of such an event. In this sense, the key to security programs of resilience is the coping capacities of citizens, the ability of citizens to respond, or adapt, to security crises. The subject or agent of security thereby shifts from the state to society and to the individuals constitutive of it’ (Chandler, 2013, p.210). This analysis resonates both with the rhetoric I encountered in Camden and with the technocratic pragmatism that seemed to define its resilience programme. Despite the valuable insights that such an analysis offers, it should be noted that participatory management, risk and crisis prevention, empowerment, cross-sectorial catalysation and decentralisation of government, competition and cooperation in processes of tendering for the delivery of services are neither new nor specific to resilience (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992). What makes resilience distinct, according to many of these

authors, is its ecological character and genealogy, which feeds a new kind of social Darwinism and legitimisation of capitalism (the ecological imperative to adapt). This emphasis placed on ecology is worth contextualising a bit further.

This common thesis, which only Neocleous (2013) does not appear to reproduce so explicitly, builds on Michel Foucault's (2008, 2007) work on bio-power. Foucault (2007) developed the thesis that from the late eighteenth century onwards a new kind of conception of political power emerged, which was partly grounded in the economic thinking of the time. In contrast to preceding forms of sovereign power, political power became concerned with achieving the security of its subjects and populations. Security was not to be achieved through the prevention of troubles, crises and disasters but through the adequate management of these disasters through market mechanisms. Politics conceived in terms of security also coincided with an increasing concern for the management of populations enabled through various institutional knowledges and policies (public health, for example) that defined political subjects in socio-biological terms. Such a conception of bio-power is closely related to the idea of 'governmentality', which features in the work of the authors discussed above (Rabinow, 1997, pp.88–90). Modern governmentality, Foucault claimed, is characterised by a concern for the control of how individuals, groups and populations control their own behaviours through different institutional means. In this case, control does not mean repression. Rather, modern liberal governmentality provides a multiplicity of frames through which social agents are able to act and shape their own behaviour. Walker and Cooper's, Evans and Reid's as well as Chandler's critiques of resilience mix in different ways this epistemological concern for the critique of economic rationality and bio-power with a concern for understanding resilience

practices in terms of governmentality (for example, bottom-up capacity building and development discourses).

There is no doubt that these ideas are relevant to the discussion of the Camden case, which displays many of the characteristics described here. These terms and characteristics will also recur time and again throughout the discussion. However, in the next section, I propose to shift the frame somewhat, while building on this initial history, in order to define the problem of resilience in cultural terms that are proper to my field of study. The next section starts with a brief overview of the kinds of literature that address resilience in the arts and humanities, which will lead into a discussion of the research gap that this thesis proposes to fill. I will then go on to present my questions and define culture as a topic.

## **1.2 Resilience in culture**

### **1.2.1 Antecedents, research gap and approach**

While discussions of resilience are not as ubiquitous and developed in arts and humanities scholarship, a discourse about the term exists. My discussion of existing scholarly discourses about resilience in this area will not be exhaustive. However, it is worth pointing out that discussions of the term are particularly prevalent in the applied arts, most probably on account of their proximity to social policy. In a number of books dedicated to refugee performance edited or co-written by theatre scholar Michael Balfour (2015, 2013), one can find a detailed discussion of the different historical conceptions of psychological resilience, their advantages and their disadvantages as well as their presuppositions and

limitations.<sup>1</sup> The journal *Engage*, published by a visual arts advocacy and training network bearing the same name, dedicated an issue to resilience that included articles on resilience in museum and gallery education as well as arts management and European cultural policy (Dogan, 2015). Elsewhere, the notion of resilience is found in research more directly concerned with environmental issues. For example, the theatre scholar Steve Bottoms (2016) gives an account of a recent AHRC-funded collaboration with the Environmental Agency that involved artists and local residents of Bristol and Shipley. The project aimed to improve flood prevention strategies and build community resilience in these areas.

The other area where the notion has been discussed is cultural policy, which I define as the administration of culture, and more specifically what governments do and do not do in order to organise activity and practice in the area of culture (Bell and Oakley, 2015). This literature is the most relevant for this thesis as the next chapter, in particular, focuses on a discussion of resilience in cultural policy, which will be foundational in terms of the issues, cases and groups I will go on to examine in the rest of the thesis. In theatre and performance studies, Jen Harvie (2015, 2013) has made a key contribution to reviewing and critiquing resilience in the not-for profit UK arts field, where the term is primarily, but not only, linked to a drive to privatise support structures for art and cultural activity as well as promote a more entrepreneurial model of organisation and management. What Harvie's research confirms, *contra* current Foucault-inspired analyses of resilience, is that the types of practices that resilience promotes in cultural policy and management are not, for the most part, new. What is new, as Harvie (2013) shows,

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<sup>1</sup> I have engaged more directly with some aspects of this literature in a recently published article (Pinder, 2018).

is primarily the intensification of this process. My own research will also show that the way in which these practices are legitimated discursively (notably through a reference to ecology) is also relatively novel.

My research is different from Harvie's in a number of respects.<sup>2</sup> Her recent work includes a detailed analysis of cultural policy programmes that I will be discussing. However, there is barely a discussion of resilience as a term in her work. By contrast, my research offers a more thorough discussion and codification of resilience in the field of culture. Harvie also ignores the environmental dimension of resilience discourse and practice, which remains central for understanding resilience in the field at the level of discourse but also non-discursive practice. Considering this environmental dimension will be key in the critique of the ideological appeal of resilience, which has diffused itself across different policy and academic fields in a similar fashion to the equally dubious terms of 'sustainability' or 'sustainable development' (Reghezza-Zitt and Rufat, 2015).

It is worth pointing out that a broader body of literature is emerging about resilience in the arts and cultural policy, most of which was published towards the end of my doctoral study. A lot of this literature relates to non-UK localities, questions of regional development as well as cultural economies defined in broader terms than in this thesis. The most relevant article, authored by Andy Pratt (2017), is nevertheless worth discussing briefly in order to frame my own research in relation to the latest research about resilience.

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<sup>2</sup> The work of a number of other materialist/Marxist scholars in performance research has informed my own, which also builds implicitly on a number of recent edited collections in the field (Zaroulia and Hager, 2015; Nielsen and Ybarra, 2012; Wickstrom, 2012).

Like Harvie, Pratt's research confirms that resilience is linked to so-called austerity politics in cultural policy. Pratt reprises the distinction between what the Young Foundation terms 'survivalist' and 'adaptive' resilience in order to argue that while governments impose survivalist conceptions of resilience (what Pratt calls resilience as 'stance' (Pratt, 2017, p.128)) through policy, the UK's cultural economy has proved adaptive in the face of the crisis and deep cuts to subsidies. He argues that this is partly due to the diverse and dynamic character of the field. Despite this observation, he explores some of the dangers and risks linked to resilience and the cuts to culture, which include labour exploitation, the legitimisation of economic power by culture through private investment, and the loss of coordinating capacity of public agencies. The author also attempts to think beyond resilience and the idea of economic self-sufficiency in culture, which he does by discussing new public forms of support and capacity building for the field.

My critical account of resilience is similar and different to Pratt's on a number of levels. First, my discussion of resilience in culture will be primarily restricted to the not-for profit arts to the exclusion of the wider 'creative economy' or the core cultural industries as defined by Hesmondhalgh (2013). The boundaries between 'not-for profit' activity and 'for profit' are blurred more than ever. Nonetheless, the second chapter of this research focuses on resilience in national cultural policy, and more specifically on the discourses and practices of the Arts Council England (ACE), which is one of the non-departmental governmental institutions responsible for the administration of publicly subsidised artistic and cultural activity in England. It is partly on account of this different focus, the reasons for which I return to in the methodology section, that I will use the term 'field' when speaking of cultural activity and production. I use the term 'field' primarily because I prefer it, as a non-technical term, to 'sector' and/or



‘industry’ since publicly subsidised, not-for profit art, in my view, cannot be considered to be an industry in the strict sense of the term (Beech, 2015).<sup>3</sup>

Second, my discussion of policy will be more pessimistic and critical than Pratt’s. As far as I have been able to ascertain the distinction that Pratt makes between the two conceptions of resilience has little basis in actual cultural policy discourse or practice.<sup>4</sup> In fact, my research will show that the idea of adaptation and adaptive resilience predominates in national cultural policy, contrary to what Pratt seems to suggest. My account of the cuts on the not-for profit section of the field will also be much more detailed and comprehensive than his analysis, which remains fairly cursory and, at times, partial in its treatment and assessment of data.

Nevertheless, my research can be understood to build on his work in one fundamental way. Pratt (2017)’s discussion of resilience in terms of crisis and risk management as well as his discussion of the risks and dangers linked to resilience confirm my own findings and thesis, which offers a detailed discussion of these problems through cases. Furthermore, I would like to stress that the originality of my approach cannot be grasped without understanding how my problematisation of resilience does not just ‘fill’ a gap left by Pratt or Harvie. Instead my thesis offers a conceptual framework for understanding resilience in specifically cultural terms, while also expanding and/or moving away from the modes of policy critique employed by the authors discussed above. I explain this last point below, before going on to explore the research questions and conceptual framework of this thesis.

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<sup>3</sup> I explain later in the discussion how I use the term ‘industry’ technically.

<sup>4</sup> It is not entirely clear from where Pratt derives his definitions of resilience.

Amongst other things, conducting this research on resilience has led me to question the place that categories and concepts used for the analysis of policy should be given and whether these concepts and their objects should form the ultimate horizon of materialist research. In theatre and performance research, Harvie is one of the scholars to have integrated policy in the materialist study of art, performance and theatre. Lately, she has done so through the Foucaultian notion of 'governmentality', which I discussed earlier. In doing so, and more recently by integrating aspects of Latourian Actor Network Theory (ANT), her research implicitly follows in the tracks of Tony Bennett, one of the pioneers of critical cultural policy studies. There is no doubt that her approach has yielded valuable results, from which I have learned a great deal. However, the disciplinary and theoretical implications of such a move remain underexplored in her work and in the field more broadly, where debates about the place of policy are arguably a minority concern. Brandon Woolf's (2015) recent provocation titled 'Putting Policy into Performance Studies?' reprises a question asked twenty years prior by Tony Bennett in the context of cultural studies, which formed the basis of a polemic about the proper objects and ends of the discipline. Asking the same question 20 years later, however, does not have the same polemical value, even if the context is different. Policy has informed performance and theatre research for a long time now, and a more pertinent question might have been to ask how to integrate policy and policy-related concepts in performance and theatre research when one is not primarily a critical policy studies scholar. I propose to answer this question by continuing to discuss Harvie's work, which provides a good model.

In Harvie's recent work, 'governmentality' has the status of what Mieke Bal (2002) would have called a non-disciplinary specific, 'travelling' concept that organises a discussion of policy and art. A number of other such concepts are

deployed in Harvie's work, including 'neoliberalism', 'labour', 'art' and 'performance'. My work follows this approach. By this I mean that my discussion and critique will be organised by cross-disciplinary generalities that will be contextualised and embedded in a disciplinary- and field-specific exploration of a situated problem. However, by contrast to her work, my research presupposes that an arts-based critique of resilience should, for the purposes of critique, give equal weight to concepts and categories that are proper to art, while not ignoring concepts that help to think policy or even mediate discussions of policy and art. In my view, this is not the case in her recent work where the concept of art, let alone performance, does not have the same level of cross-disciplinary generality as 'governmentality' or 'neoliberalism'. The concepts and categories of art that she deploys are defined at a much lower level of generality, being primarily art-historical or curatorial concepts ('socially engaged art', 'relational aesthetics'). They are not theoretical or philosophical concepts. Such a difference has important epistemological and philosophical consequences. For, the concepts with much higher levels of generality will play a determining role in the organisation of the discussion. So, the primacy given to policy via the notion of 'governmentality' makes, wittingly or not, a discussion of policy-making and policy-solutions, the just or unjust administration, use or misuse and management of resources into the ultimate horizon of materialist research. At the end of the conclusion of this thesis, I explore further how my own approach to criticism provides me with a way to reflexively go 'beyond resilience'. Next, I present my research questions and start discussing them in light of the notion of 'culture', which is the general notion that defines the topos for my thesis and will organise my discussion.

### 1.2.2 Culture as topic and research questions

Building on the discussion of the previous section, I present below the research questions, which are organised around the notion of ‘culture’ from which I also derive the key categories and cross-disciplinary concepts of this thesis.

Q.1a. What are the histories of resilience discourses and practices?

Q.1b. How and why did resilience become a key notion in cultural administration in the UK in the context of the most recent economic crisis?

Q.2a. What are the scope and ambivalences of different resilience discourses and practices in culture in the field of culture in the UK?

Q.2b. How can the notion of culture-as-resource help to clarify the scope and ambivalences of dominant resilience discourses and practices in this context?

Q.2c. How can the notion of civility help to clarify the scope and ambivalences of alternative resilience discourses and practices in this context?

Q.3a. Beyond alternative resiliences, what other ways can art and criticism be understood to perform a critical negation of the dominant rationales of resilience?

Q.3b. What alternatives can art and criticism offer to a reconciled affirmative culture?

I have already started to explore in this introduction the histories of resilience inside and outside of the field (Q.1). However, I need to define more fully what I mean by ‘culture’. In doing so, I will also define the notions of ‘culture-as-resource’ (Q.2b) and ‘affirmative culture’ (Q.3b), two variants of the idea of culture through which I will be discussing dominant resilience practices and discourses as well as their effects. The next part defines the concepts of civility and art. Within the

frames of this thesis, these notions will allow me to map out the different problems and effects of dominant resilience discourses and practices in culture, alongside the various forms and cultural practices that critically diverge from this dominant model. After the definitions, which will also give me the opportunity to explain other key terms of my title. In part 1.4 of this introduction, I present where and how I will answer these research questions.

This critique of resilience is inscribed within the wider topic of culture, understood as a common place shared by a number of social actors, including artists, art and cultural critics, and policymakers. This common place is not only made up of field-specific institutions, however broadly defined. It includes typical historical problems and a number of sub-topics, which also define these institutions and the discourses of social actors that inhabit these institutions. The sub-topics typically linked to culture include that of culture and commodification; culture and politics; culture, continuity (heritage) or severance (loss); culture and regeneration. As the literary critic Francis Mulhern argues, a topic allows for variation within a given discourse, defined as a structure that drives and regulates 'the utterances of the individuals who inhabit it', and which 'assigns them definite positions in the field of meaning it delimits' (Mulhern, 2000, p.xiv). Before presenting how resilience can be considered as a variation on sub-topics of culture, I present the more general and established terms of treatment of culture as a topic.

As Raymond Williams and others have argued, culture has since the romantics at least been thought of as the repository of alternative values to the utilitarian values driving the historical emergence of capitalism. Williams states:

The word that had indicated a process of training within a more assured society became in the nineteenth century the focus of a deeply significant response to a society in the throes of a radical and painful change (Williams, 1953, p.244).

The historical formation of capitalism is presented in this passage as a social and epochal crisis that is the historical condition of possibility of culture but also always a threat to it. As Mulhern (2000) explains, it is for this reason that cultural criticism, whether conservative or progressive, is often concerned with the preservation of the values of culture (culture as principle) in the face of a threatening modernity (variously termed commercialism, mass culture, but also mass democratic politics). In this discourse, the humanist ideal of culture, as embodiment of an unfulfilled or repressed potential and alternative (emancipated humanity), has a critical and ethico-political content inasmuch as it reminds society of what it could be in principle. However, a number of authors including Williams have also traced the manner in which the redemptive ideal of culture fed into a conservative form of class containment that he describes as 'a ratification of values against social involvement and social change' (1970, p.368). These last words are taken from Williams' review of Herbert Marcuse's *Negations*, which could be considered as an antecedent to Williams' own work on culture. Marcuse defines what he calls 'affirmative culture' in the following manner:

By affirmative culture is meant that culture of the bourgeois epoch which led in the course of its own development to the segregation from civilization of the mental and spiritual world as an independent realm of value that is also considered superior to civilization (Marcuse, 2009, p.70).

Here also, the rarefied, separated object of culture (high art) figures as a norm of judgement and alternative to 'society' or 'civilisation' (two names of the historical condition of existence of culture). But here too, art is understood to legitimate and embed domination by becoming 'compatible with the bad present, despite and within which it can afford happiness' (p.87).<sup>5</sup>

Needless to say, since Marcuse and Williams wrote their seminal histories of the term, deep mutations have affected relations between 'culture' and 'society'. In a landmark essay about postmodernism, Fredric Jameson (1984) registers a profound mutation in the idea of culture – a mutation which, according to him, was caused by art and culture's fuller imbrication in capitalist social relations of production, circulation and consumption. On account of culture's centrality to capitalism in an age dominated by information and knowledge production (finance, advertisement and marketing, mass and popular culture, print and electronic publishing, and the internet), culture's humanist and transcendent ideality that was consequent upon its critical distance from economic relations had, according to Jameson, waned. A number of other Marxist thinkers and art critics have, over the years, echoed aspects of Jameson's thesis, noting a closer integration between capitalism and culture. For instance, Marina Vishmidt (2016, p.38) has recently restated the idea that 'art now enters much more directly into circuits of valorisation, be it in luxury manufacturing, brand enhancement, the experience economy, tourism, or gentrification'. Boltanski and Esquerre (2016) as well as Chin-tao Wu (2017) also argue art is central to global economies

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<sup>5</sup> The parallel that I am drawing between Williams and Marcuse is suggested by Jones (2004) and Mulhern (2007). Jones makes a broader parallel between the work of Williams and the Frankfurt School, which I develop in my own way in this thesis.

dominated by the logics of rareness, uniqueness, history and provenance, including limited-edition luxury goods, fashion, national patrimonies and heritage, intellectual patents, copyrights and other forms of monopoly rent. The regeneration and gentrification of post-industrial cities in which museums built by celebrity architects have become global tourist attractions are a case in point. This trend also connects to how policymakers and non-governmental actors at all levels also view culture as a resource in the management of economic and sociopolitical problems of the system, ranging from the regeneration of run-down areas to the management of the delinquency of dispossessed and vulnerable classes and groups as witnessed in Camden.

It is worth delving into this last issue a bit further as it connects most directly to the discussion of resilience in Camden and will provide a way into understanding how resilience constitutes a novel variation of existing cultural topics. In a book published as part of a series co-edited by Jameson, cultural policy scholar George (2003, p.1) uses the expression 'culture-as-resource' to denote the centrality as well as sociopolitical and economic instrumentalisation of culture in the era of globalisation, and the dominance of instrumental logics of resource management more generally. He argues that in the late twentieth century and early twenty-first century the issue at hand in a culturalised political and economic sphere 'becomes the management of resources, knowledges, technologies, and the risks entailed thereof, defined in a myriad of ways' (2003, p.1). Interestingly, Yúdice also makes a parallel between the instrumentalisation of culture, which he thinks as having been emptied of its transcendent ideality, and the management of natural resources.

In my view, the Camden case exemplifies perfectly the logic of 'culture-as-resource'. On the one hand, the case illustrated how building resilience was about



the management of organisational and financial risks for culture and the third sector in the wake of the crisis. On the other, it was also about the management, through culture, of risks for the wider social body posed by budgetary cutbacks. This instrumentalisation of culture is all the more appealing as art and culture are generally thought of as offering cheap and cheerful solutions to social ills as well as providing a social model for liberal self-entrepreneurship and individualised risk-taking (creativity and innovation), as Bishop (2012) has restated.

It should also be noted that there are vast differences between the ideal of culture at work in Camden and the one described by Williams and Marcuse, between 'culture-as-resource' and 'affirmative culture'. In the Camden case, the gap and discrepancy between the ideal and debased historical conditions of existence, between the promise of future happiness and the bad present, appears to have well-nigh collapsed. Utilitarianism, no more of a threat to culture's ideality, now dominates the principle of culture, reducing the redemptive charge of culture to a form of solution-orientated problem solving.

I will be arguing that liberal varieties of 'culture-as-resource' define a good number, if not all, of the dominant (predominantly state or state-orientated) resilience discourses and practices examined in this thesis, which concern the management of crises and risks related to these crises (economic and environmental) (Q.2a-b). This logic is a utilitarian one, which constitutes the inseparable and reconciled contrary of culture as a (dominated) principle. The latter, while dominated, will play a similarly ambivalent role to the one identified by Williams and Marcuse, albeit in the service of economically and politically expedient crisis management rationales. However weighted or combined, this unity of contraries will be shown to contribute to the rhetorical appeal of the discourse. In its different variants, resilience will appear as pragmatic and

solution-orientated yet holistic, managerial yet organic, a paragon of so-called realism that is nevertheless imbued with a residual redemptive promise even when catastrophist in tone (the imperative to adapt is a good example of this paradoxical structure). This pairing will be shown to accommodate different contents, at the level of discourse and practice. In the next chapter, for example, I examine how the notion of ‘culture-as-resource’ can help to account for the relatively new environmental discourses and practices linked to resilience agendas, which although more ‘progressive’ in terms of their agendas will be shown to function in a similarly ambivalent way (Q.2b).

In this thesis, I will also explore how, alternative resilience practices, including artistic ones, which conform to the logics of ‘culture-as-resource’, do not always legitimise liberal solutions to the management of risks and crisis. Most notably, I will examine a range of cases that depart from the dominant rationales of ‘culture-as-resource’ through Balibar’s notion of ‘civility’, a concept that will also help me mediate discussions of resilience in policy and art. The notion of civility will enable me to problematise how the socialisation of risks and crisis performed by dominant resilience practices and discourses, as described by Pratt (2017), is linked to the reproduction of extremes of violence on other geopolitical scenes. Civility will also frame my discussion of how alternative resilience discourses and practices aim to limit and distance in different ways and in different contexts the reproduction of ‘civilised’ and cultured violence (Q.2c).. Finally, I will show that the rise of resilience is not synonymous with the death of affirmative culture and art that legitimises economic and political power in a context where private investment is normalised. This analysis will be paired with a discussion that builds on the penultimate research question, which will examine how art is also not condemned to playing this affirmative role (Q3a-b).

In the previous parts and sections, I have gone some way towards clarifying the rationale and key terms underpinning some of the research questions. The next part continues to unpack the key terms of the thesis title as well as the problems that underpin the last three questions.

### **1.3 A theatrical critique: between civility and art**

#### **1.3.1 Critique, subsumption, creative destruction, crisis**

To inaugurate this new part, it is worth clarifying how I conceive of critique, as my role as analyst and critic will not only be to render resilience discourses and practices in culture more intelligible. At risk of sounding a bit pretentious, I would nevertheless say that my aim is to emulate something of the spirit of Brecht and Benjamin, who, planning to launch a journal called *Krisis und Kritik*, wanted to imagine, according to Daddario and Schmidt (2018), ‘the role that aesthetic “shock” might play in exposing the discontinuity of history, in imagining things a different way – perhaps an alternative kind of “shock doctrine”’ (p.2). In this context, the dominant shock doctrine (an allusion to Klein’s book about disaster capitalism referred to earlier), as suggested earlier, is resilience as commonly found in policy. Metaphorically speaking, critique and art will also feature as alternative shock doctrines. In order to understand in a bit more detail how art, in particular, can be given such a function, I introduce two terms, formal and real subsumption, which will help frame the discussion in socio-historical terms as well as help me unpack how the categories and concepts presented in 1.2.2 can be related to each other in the present.

In Marx’s vocabulary, formal subsumption corresponds to the historical integration of pre-capitalist forms of social relations and production into capitalist production and economic processes through often violent processes of spoliation

and coercion (see Marx, 1990, pp.871–940 and pp.1019–1023). For many Marxists, formal subsumption corresponds to the pre-historical stage of capitalism– roughly from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century – in which, according to Vercellone (2007, p.15), ‘the relation of capital/labour is marked by the hegemony of the knowledge of craftsmen and of workers with a trade, and by the pre-eminence of the mechanisms of accumulation of a mercantile and financial type’. According to Marx, art and other economically non-productive activities were to be considered as only just formally subsumed by capitalism, being exceptions and anomalies (see Marx, 1990, p.1044). While Williams and Marcuse’s discussion of culture does not allude to the term directly, their concept of culture implies the idea of formal subsumption. This is the case because, without being formally subsumed, art would not be able to stand, however ambivalently, at a critical distance from society in order to embody an alternative to capitalist utilitarianism.

In contrast, real subsumption denotes the reorganisation of production according to a specifically capitalist (industrial) mode of production for the purposes of accumulation (Marx, 1990, p.1023–1038). The real subsumption of culture has been implicitly equated by Adorno and Horkheimer (1997) with the culture industry, which they understand as ‘rigorously subsumed’ in opposition to an autonomous culture (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1997, p.104). Although I share with cultural industries scholars Miège (1989) and Hesmondhalgh (2013) a certain weariness about aspects of Adorno’s critique of the culture industry *qua* instrumental rationality, it should nevertheless be restated that Adorno was well aware that mass culture was not entirely industrialised. What was important for him, as Lütticken (2016) restates, was that in the culture industry the profit motive dominated art at the point of production and for this reason its emancipatory-cum-

critical charge was reduced. While it may be true that Adorno's critique of the culture industry was not economic enough (Beech, 2015), my thesis will appropriate the terms and basic schema (art-culture industry) of Adorno's analysis for the purpose of an ideological and philosophical critique of resilience in culture. To mark this alignment, I continue to use the terms 'culture industry' and 'culture industries' as technical concepts unless I am referring to specific policies or different traditions of scholarship (cultural industries, for example).

In the work discussed previously, Jameson (1991), alongside other contemporary Marxists, appears to extend and generalise this thesis on real subsumption to describe a third phase of globalised capitalism in which the sphere of production and reproduction, productive labour and non-productive work and life (including art and nature) would be totally subsumed and colonised by economic rationality. In effect, it could be argued that this is also what Yúdice (2003) describes with his idea of 'culture-as-resource', although the terms of his analysis are somewhat different.<sup>6</sup> These theories of total subsumption have many strengths and elements that I will draw on. For one, they make sense of how culture has become more thoroughly integrated into capitalist circuits of production and reproduction. However, instead of seeing in this change an invalidation of Williams and Marcuse's thesis, I understand this shift, drawing on the work of Osborne (2006) but also Vishmidt (2016), as a deep historical mutation within the formal subsumption of culture, which has been steadily realigned to the profit motive and forms of social management that embed marketised social relations. The crucial difference between my position and that of theorists who hold that we live in a totally subsumed society is that I take this to be

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<sup>6</sup> I draw here on the Osborne's (2006) review of Yúdice's work.

an unequal tendency and uneven development within globalised capitalism, and by no means a historical given. This is also the case in the field of culture where not-for profit and amateur activity coexists in complex ways, sometimes complementary and sometimes contradictory, with profit-orientated activity.

In relation to resilience, and as already partially announced, my thesis will be that dominant resilience discourses, while internally diverse, tend to legitimate a historically intensified process of subsumption, by which culture and art are realigned to market logics and modes of organisation as well as integrated more closely into processes of capitalist valorisation. Resilience discourses and practices will be shown to be practical policy instruments for effecting this realignment. As already discussed in relation to the work of Pratt, this realignment aims to socialise risks linked to the economic crisis through marketisation and entrepreneurialism as well as privatisation. While I will be accounting for the new kinds of social relations that these changes ‘create’ – and it should be noted that they do create new forms of social relations – this thesis is also concerned with figuring the destructive effects of and resistances to this process. For, as Streeck (2017) argues drawing on the work of Polanyi (2001), the more general subsumption of what he calls ‘fictitious commodities’ also threatens the system with self-destruction (2017, p.50).<sup>7</sup> Nancy Fraser (2016, 2014) suggests that this is due to the fact that as the capitalist economic system expands periodically in order to guarantee its own reproduction, the economic sphere encroaches on the semi-

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<sup>7</sup> The definition of a fictitious commodity is as follows: ‘a resource to which the laws of supply and demand apply only partially and awkwardly if at all; it can therefore only be treated as a commodity in a carefully circumscribed, regulated way, since complete commodification will destroy it or make it unusable’ (Streeck, 2017, pp.50-51).

autonomous spheres of life and activity (welfare, education, social care and natural resources) that it depends on. This expanded cycle of reproduction, which requires subsumption to be repeated (suggesting that formal subsumption is not merely a periodic concept), reproduces a form of uneven and unequal development that also generates contradictions and resistances of its own, as the renegotiation of boundaries between the spheres of production and reproduction are often contested. Fraser (2014, 2013), who also draws on the work of Polanyi (2001), shows that capitalism's undermining of its own conditions of existence is why this current crisis of capitalism is not only economic but also environmental (capitalism commodifies and destroys the web of life that permits reproduction) and sociopolitical (capitalism destroys the welfare functions of the national social state as well as its political authority and power).<sup>8</sup>

Thus, the idea of subsumption is not only useful to unify, through a single name, discussions of privatisation and marketisation, two key aspects of resilience policy. It also helps to conceive why and how resilience discourses and practices in policy are not purely economic or financial in scope but tend to triangulate, as total discourses of crisis management, different dimensions of risk management. Thus, one of the problems and paradoxes that this thesis aims to present and unpick is the manner in which these discourses are preventative (aiming to socialise the risks linked to crises) but also end up being active agents in the undermining of the conditions of existence of human society and life.

Finally, the idea of subsumption has been chosen over other possible notions as the analysis will reveal that the notion introduces spatial and temporal

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<sup>8</sup> A comparable analysis is developed by Moore (2015), which focuses more directly on ecology.

considerations, which will be key for the discussion of policy and art. The spatial dimensions of the notion have been introduced through the idea of uneven development. However, it should be noted that subsumption also implies a mixed temporality by which the process of destruction of old social relations and their recreation in a marketised form is not synonymous with a Faustian annihilation of older socio-historical temporalities but rather with their refunctioning and restructuration.

The next section continues to look at the problem of violence and destruction by taking a closer look at the notion of civility.

### **1.3.2 Violence and civility**

The sociologist Norbert Elias (1978) has argued that civility, defined as a mannered way of being in society, has since Erasmus been tied to the idea of disciplined cultivation and, consequently, to that of culture ('training within a more assured society', as in Williams' definition quoted earlier). I turn to the notion to render more intelligible the question of violence and destruction in relation to the question of subsumption. In his recent reworking of the term in *Violence and Civility* (2015), which I draw on, Balibar also ties the notion of civility to the problem of violence in the context of our globalised, transnational present.<sup>9</sup> Balibar notes, amongst other things, that as economic institutions such as the market have globalised, so has the production and reproduction of extremes of violence. Within certain traditions of modern philosophical thinking, which Balibar re-examines, historical conflicts and violence are thought to transform or convert

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<sup>9</sup> Alan Read edited an issue of *Performance Research* titled *On Civility* (2004). However, I do not draw on this edited issue here.



themselves with time into new forms of sociality and institution. In other words, violence becomes socialised. However, Balibar, drawing on the work of Walter Benjamin amongst others, is concerned with thinking how violence is not always socialised, proving to be in certain instances 'inconvertible' (pp.63-92).

The problem of violence is a crucial social and political question because it is a social fact that threatens institutionalised social life while also being an integral part of it. In this context, a politics of civility is not strictly speaking a politics of non-violence. While it may include non-violent struggles, practices of civility are more broadly concerned with the limiting or displacing of extremes of violence. Thus, the Gandhian anti-imperial struggle in all its ambivalence is a kind of politics of civility; so is the birth of welfare in Western Europe in the aftermath of the cruelties of Second World War.

Seemingly, the subsumption of culture in the UK does not give birth to extremes of violence, even if extreme violence is to be considered qualitatively and with no pre-established limit or threshold to measure it against. However, ideas of violence and civility will be useful to explore, amongst other things, how the intensified re-alignment of culture to the culture industry, or what I will call after Balibar culture's 'internal colonization' (2015, p.154), goes hand in hand with the production (or risk of production) of extremes of violence on different geopolitical scenes, notably because of how culture comes to play a legitimising function with regards to private investors, which include multinational corporations responsible for global warming or war. In the context of this thesis, practices of civility, which I will explore through cases presented as alternative resilience practices and discourses (see Q.2c), will acknowledge and give form to the problem of violence while also ambivalently distancing and displacing its extremes through culture.,

Recontextualising Balibar's discussion of the term will also enable me to develop it differently. Connecting Balibar's discussion of civility more directly to culture will enable me to revisit some of the problems developed by Lloyd and Thomas (1998) in their analysis of the relation between culture and the 'ethical' state. In chapter 2 and 3, I will be discussing civility in relation to practices that are either artistic and theatrical practices or policy-related events that have taken place in theatres. While I will not insist on the theatrical dimension that Balibar gives the notion of civility, this recontextualisation will give it a material basis.

### **1.3.3 Art**

It will also be my argument that a discussion of alternative resiliences through the prism of civility is insufficient for a complete critique. This is in part because these alternatives will also be shown to be ambivalent. But, also because I believe that criticism should account for resources for critique that art possesses, which are not reducible to policy or art's politicised uses. Importantly, this last element of the discussion will enable me to think alternatives to affirmative culture through a philosophically determined concept of art, as announced previously. This inquiry relates to the third research question(s) and will occupy me in the second part of the thesis. In this part of the thesis, an explicit discussion of resilience discourses will be forsaken in favour of discussing how art can be positioned critically in a social and historical context in which private investment in culture, legitimated and effected by resilience policies, has become normalised.

For this investigation I have turned to the late work of Adorno and post-Adornoian discourse. In this discourse, autonomous art as formally subsumed activity, although politically powerless in real terms, is understood to have a critical power because of its anomalous status (see Adorno, 1997, p.29, p.107). The

advantage of Adorno's theory of autonomous art is that, contrary to an affirmative image of redemption critiqued by Marcuse, it offers a negative one. Art still asserts the discrepancy between the ideal and the historical conditions of existence of culture but does not soften reality's asperities. Rather it retains social contradictions at the level of its form 'pure and uncompromised', where ideology tends to reconcile and resolve these contradictions by obfuscating them (Adorno, 1981, p.32). Autonomous art thus conceived can remain a dissonant index of our contemporary unfreedom instead of becoming a positive image of sweetness and light that softens the harshness of capitalist reality. In doing so, Vishmidt notes that art can be 'both a protest against the brutality of the world and a confirmation that this brutality has limits, preserving hope, akin to the role of religion: redemptive in its negation' (2016, p.36). This possibility will be key in understanding how art is capable of presenting the destruction and violence legitimated by resilience discourses and practices in state policy.

It should also be noted that the autonomy of art is determined by its capacity to resist its function as a bearer of exchange value, which is one aspect of the commodity in Marxist theory. I explore this point briefly. A commodity is understood to have a dual, antagonistic form that derives from its exchange value and use value. The use value of a commodity, which is qualitative, is its utility in fulfilling specific needs and wants. In contrast, the exchange value of a commodity, which dominates in capitalist societies, is not determined by its utility but rather by the quantity of crystallised labour it contains. The labour in question, here, is not concrete labour, which denotes the particular activity and skills required to produce a specific kind of object with a specific use. Rather, the crystallised quantity of labour that makes up the exchange value of the commodity is a quantity of socially necessary abstract labour, which refers to a generic and

average quantity of human labour-power expended for the production of a given commodity. It is only when labour, understood as a commodity (labour power) to be bought and sold, is reduced to such an abstraction (from use) that the products of labour (commodities) become rationally exchangeable *qua* commodities (Marx, 1990). The work of art may be an exception to this labour law of value, according to classical and Marxist theory (Beech, 2015). However, as noted previously art nonetheless enters more and more, as an anomalous or ‘fictitious’ commodity, into processes of valorisation. For this reason, I retain the term.

A paradox should also be noted: While this condition of bearer of exchange value, which resilience politics reinforces, threatens and destroys art’s autonomy, it is also the condition of possibility of achieving autonomy as fictitious commodity. For this reason, in this post-romantic philosophy of art, art ceases to be defined as a medium. Instead, art is defined in terms of social ontology. That is, it is defined by its immanent relation to non-art, including its always socio-historical institutional conditions and relations of production. These do not just provide an external ‘context’ but are instead an immanent and material aspect of the artwork, as autonomy is only ever the appearance of autonomy, which is fact socially determined or heteronomous (Adorno, 1997).

The ontological as opposed to medium-specific definition of art relates to the question of theatricality in my thesis. Beyond the specific works, events and places that I examine or include in my discussion, the theatrical character of this critique refers primarily to what Peter Osborne (2013) views as the non-medium specific character of contemporary art, or what Jameson (2015) has described as its ‘de-differentiation’ (p.107). To denote this, I re-appropriate the term ‘theatrical’ from Michael Fried’s (1995) famous Greenbergian critique of minimalism. When Fried critiqued minimalist art as being ‘theatrical’, the art critic was amongst other things

grappling with the question of the creative destruction of proper mediums in art. It is a predicament that Fried, defending a medium-specific Greenbergian conception of modernity in art, decried. This de-differentiation, however, will be understood to be one of the formal effects of the dialectic of the autonomous work of art, consequent upon the art work's resistance to its status as bearer of exchange value. This resistance is understood to drive art's singularisation (its becoming more and more uncategorisable) or what Adorno (1997) viewed as art's increasing 'nominalism' (p.199). This process of de-differentiation but also singularisation of the work, which bestows upon the art work a uniqueness as well as a certain event-like thereness, is what I will call the art work's theatricality or indexicality. This theatricality will be the phenomenological and temporal marker of art's alternative 'shock doctrine', art's capacity to antagonistically figure and present the social truth of subsumption (destruction and violence), while also embodying a future-bound opening and alternative. Inasmuch as art has the capacity to figure the social truth of subsumption, which is legitimised and effected by resilience discourses and practices, the art discussed in this thesis will also be shown to reproduce the mixed temporalities that I announced as being constitutive of subsumption.

As the literary and art critic David Cunningham (2016) notes, the post-medium condition or transdisciplinarity of art discussed above is also subject to discipline-specific dynamics that complicate the claims that modern and contemporary art is entirely generic or de-differentiated at the level of mediums. Differences exist in practice and ontological sites of practice between contemporary art and literature but also between contemporary art or literature and theatre, for instance. This thesis for the most part excludes a discussion of theatre-based and dramatic works. Instead, my analysis concentrates on forms of

(post-)conceptual art: Performance and time-based art, institutional critique and art-activism as well as pedagogical projects. I acknowledge that this has certain implications for how I position this research within the field of theatre and performance research. While this choice was not premeditated, I came to the conclusion that including an extensive discussion of dramatic and theatre forms would have compromised the unity of the discussion. The problems and topics that I grapple with in this thesis would invariably take a different form when discussing drama and theatre, which are defined by different sites of production, circulation and reception as well as practices and histories.

In this section I have given an outline of the two concepts, art and civility, which form the basis of the last three research questions. Although these conceptions of art and civility are related and will interact in this thesis, notably through the idea of culture's subsumption, different chapters will tend to focus on one or the other. The next section includes an outline of the chapters and presents the design of my research.

## **1.4 Cases, methods and ethics**

### **1.4.1 Design, rationale and outline**

In order to answer the research questions, I used mixed qualitative methods and centered the investigation on case studies. According to Stake (2005), the study of cases can provide insights into an issue with the aim of drawing a generalisation about a particular phenomenon. My uses of the cases are, in this sense, instrumental although not simply illustrative. However, contrary to what Stake (2005) claims, this instrumental use of case studies does not mean that I have favoured concerns that are external to the works themselves. Nonetheless, an organisation of the case studies according to the aims and ends of my own

research was necessary and has enabled me to look into what Flyvbjerg (2011) calls 'paradigmatic cases' (dominant liberal conceptions of resilience in national cultural policy) as well as variations (alternative resilience practices and/or discourses) and deviance from or negation of the phenomena (p.307).

In the first two chapters, which include this introduction, I address the history of resilience in policy and address how and why resilience became a key notion in cultural administration in the UK (Q.1a, b). In order to provide a more complete answer to these questions in chapter 2, I trace the history of resilience in national cultural policy, concentrating on the discourses and practices of ACE, where resilience has become a key term. This focus is justified on a number of levels. First, it is in national cultural policy that I encountered a range of resilience discourses and practices in culture, which have enabled me to explore the thesis that resilience discourses and practices in their various forms concern the management and socialisation of crises and their risks (Q.2a-b). While I could have found cases outside of this context, there seemed to me to be a wealth of material in this area, which had the additional attraction of relating in a stricter way to cultural policy than cases of cultural and artistic activity forming part of larger social programmes.

The national scale is key for two other reasons. First, national cultural policy still plays a key function in the supporting of not-for profit artistic practices and institutions, which feature heavily in this thesis. Second, I found that anxieties about the dangers and risks relating to resilience practices were very visible at this level, a visibility that is most probably linked to anxieties about the progressive demise of welfarism in the UK in the context of globalisation. For this reason, national cultural policy was also an interesting site for discussing the ambivalences of resilience and its expedient rationale of resource management (Q2.b).

The historical demise is partly what leads Pratt (2017) to claim that the institutions and structures for the support of traditional, not-for profit art are residual. Writing about the ‘traditional’ role and place of the arts and culture, he writes:

The traditional role has been minimized to the point of obliteration: idealist support for the humanistic values of culture, and the soft power of particular values that sustain specific ideas of the nation state. These arguments were previously mobilized by philanthropists, and the designers of the welfare state, to underpin the allocation of resources to culture (Pratt, 2017, p.134).

While it may be true that the traditional role of culture has mutated and been displaced, my argument will be that talk of its obliteration or even minimisation is somewhat misleading. Humanistic values of culture, soft power, and uplifting national imaginations will remain at all levels key considerations in my discussion, which will reveal how expedient rationales of resource management, whatever their form, cannot dispense with more idealistic ideological supplements (Q.2b).

After a long discussion of variants of resilience discourse and practice in national policy, Chapter 2 will end with the discussion of *Take The Money and Run?* (*TTMR*). It is the case through which I will open the investigation into discourses and practices that deviate from the dominant logic of resilience (Q.2c). It is in this discussion that the question of civility and violence will be introduced in relation to a discussion of the risks and dangers linked to the subsumption of culture. It is also the case out of which all the other chapters and cases emanate.

*TTMR* was a series of events organised by a consortium of cultural organisations and art-activist organisation Platform, which aimed to probe the



sociopolitical and environmental consequences of the financial cuts and promotion of private investment as part of ACE's resilience-building programmes called Catalyst. Inasmuch as the initiative was tied to these programmes, it can be considered as instance of resilience practice, even if the discourse produced around the events was not always explicitly 'about' resilience or reproducing the typical procedures and tropes of resilience discourse. Through the analysis of *TTMR*, I will also be providing a case that is not included in existing evaluations of resilience programmes.

Before moving on, it is worth mentioning that I excluded an extensive discussion of Brexit. While the effects of Brexit have already been felt on various levels, policy-related data that I have engaged with pertains mostly to a period of 15 years, starting from 2003 and going up to 2018. This engagement with policy serves a critique of resilience and does not aim to assess the effects (real or potential) of Brexit on the field of culture or its administration. With this in mind, my view is that Brexit, which as I write has still not happened, changes very little of the essential theoretical shape of my work. However, I also acknowledge that the detail of my argument and interpretation of data will have to be revisited in light of what will occur in the coming years.

In Chapter 3, I continue to investigate alternative variants of resilience discourses and practices through the prism of the concept of civility by focusing on the art-activism of the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination (Lab of ii) and their project *C.R.A.S.H – A postcapitalist A to Z* (hereafter shortened to *C.R.A.S.H* (2009)). The project was produced as part of the first 2 Degrees Festival at Arts Admin in London and partly funded by the European Union Fund for Culture.

This case study was chosen on the basis that I found in the group's appropriation of resilience a clear instance of a radical left-wing resilience

discourse and by extension practice, which contrasted with dominant policy uses of resilience, while nevertheless having similar discursive features. Lab of ii was founded by a Platform member, so including a discussion of their reappropriation of resilience discourses also provided the means to deepen an engagement with the alternatives imagined by the social formations already encountered in chapter 2. Through the case, I will continue to confirm that cultural varieties of resilience discourse are concerned with the management of crises and risks. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that in this case the social imagination of resilience is significantly different to the one found in dominant policy discourses, which shows that resilience discourses can be put to radically different uses. Thus, like in the discussion of *TTMR*, I will explore how these discourses and their ambivalences can be made intelligible through the notion of civility (Q.2c). Chapter 3 will also lay the foundations for the third part of the discussion (Q.3), providing a midpoint for the thesis. The analysis of the case will enable me to specify on a preliminary basis how (post-)conceptual art can be thought to negate the rationales of resilience.

Two shorter chapters end the thesis, and together constitute the second part of the critique, which answers Q.3a and Q.3b. To do so, I return to concerns presented in chapter 2, namely, to the question of the risks and dangers linked to private investment legitimated and effected by resilience agendas. However, this time, I will be discussing the risks and dangers for and effects on art. I will examine more closely how art is rendered affirmative by playing a legitimising role vis-à-vis corporate and political power, which uses culture as an economic resource but also as a resource to manage reputations. The first case, situated at Tate Modern, focuses on the work of Abraham Cruzvillegas titled *Empty Lot* (2015a) and the *Deadline Festival* (2015a) organised by Platform against the oil sponsorship of the gallery. This case has been included as Tate has become a

paradigmatic example of the problems tied to corporate sponsorship in a UK context. The case will also enable to think about how art does not necessarily need to be affirmative (Q.3a). I will explore this possibility by developing the conception of art presented at the end of chapter 3.

In chapter 5, I discuss a transnational exhibition about species extinction and conservation, which was made in support of the IUCN charity. This case was presented and discussed as part of the *TTMR* event. Two British artists, Ackroyd and Harvey, withdrew from the exhibition after they found out that it was funded by an Azeri oil tycoon linked to BP. This case is included as a means of providing additional evidence of the risks of private investment in culture as well as of the becoming affirmative of art and its alternatives (Q3a-b). This case is also interesting because it is more complex but also less well-known than the Tate case. The issues of urbanity and regeneration in chapter 4 and conservation in chapter 5 will also feature as case-specific sub-topics that seemed to me important to include because of the manner in which they inflect considerations of private investment as well as the discussion of affirmative culture and negatively autonomous art.

#### **1.4.2 Literature, participation, interviews and ethics**

In section 1.2.1 and 1.2.2 but also in part 1.3, I introduced the cross-disciplinary concepts and generalities that will organise the discussion of the cases and the reasons why such an approach and set of concepts were selected. In the preceding section, I presented the cases and rationale for selecting these. A number of additional methodological points need clarification, notably relating to the selection and investigation of literature as well as the investigation of different cases.

My engagement with policy discourse follows what Gray (2010) understands to be an interpretivist approach. However, I have not limited myself to the interpretation of texts as I endeavoured to understand resilience policy as a practice (Bell and Oakley, 2015). Engaging with a preliminary body of policy papers and publications led me to consider a wider body of literature published by various think tanks, quangos, adhocracies and consultants that appeared to have played a key role in the historical development of the term. I spent an initial period of time examining this primary body of literature (published pre-2012) as well as all the relevant Arts Council publications relating to resilience (pre-2012). In a later phase of the research project, I returned to primary policy literature, but this time to the evaluations of programmes relating to resilience (2012-2018), which were published gradually. I also used a number of websites relating to the programmes I was writing about where I found useful video documentation of events.

While I engaged with a broader body of secondary literature about resilience programmes or discourses inside and outside the field of culture, I limited my engagement with secondary literature relating to resilience practices and discourses outside of the field as, according to Neocleous (2013), resilience has fast become the subject of a mini-academic industry. Nevertheless, in the initial stages of the research, I engaged with key articles about the history of the term; book-length critical theories of resilience; literature that helps to clarify the conceptions of resilience in different fields (genealogies, critiques of the use and abuses); and literature about (or cited in) resilience in art and humanities scholarship.

In order to investigate policy as practice, I also used other methods, including participatory observation. I took part in a number of events, lectures and

workshops that were either related to the key programmes I studied or to certain key actors I was writing about. While using observation enabled me to triangulate certain findings relating to these programmes (Yin, 2013), meeting policy practitioners and going to these events was mainly a way to familiarise myself, as a neophyte, with the culture of cultural policy, so to speak (Descombe, 2010). I participated in at least one event related to the key policy programmes I discuss. Notes as well as official documentation of the events (audiovisual and written) were used afterwards. Finally, I attended other lectures, workshops and events through the University of Leeds. The University of Leeds is also a partner for one of the training programmes I am concerned with, which gave me the opportunity to conduct a half-day, in-situ observation.

I interviewed 20 individuals related to the art cases or policies I decided to write about using a semi-structured interview process. The individuals interviewed were key participants in the different cases. 3 interviews were performed with groups of 2 interviewees. This was the case for organisations or groups in which there was dual leadership or a collaboration between two artists. So, in total, I performed 17 interviews. 6 of these were conducted with policy consultants, policy actors or the heads of organisations I was writing about in chapter 2 (largely in relation to the *TTMR* case). Another 6 interviews were conducted with artists and curators related to other cases. 5 interviews were conducted with artists or about works that I did not end up writing about in the final thesis mainly because they were theatre artists and I came to the view that major discussions of theatre had to be excluded on account of the emerging design of the research. Some interviews covered both questions of policy and art, such as an interview I made relating to *Deadline* with a member of Platform. The only case for which I did not conduct an interview was Cruzvillegas' *Empty Lot*. I had problems

accessing people involved on the project. However, plenty of other interview material and documentation exists relating to the work and the artist. I referred myself to this body of work.

The rationale for conducting the interviews also evolved significantly. I initially thought that interviews would help me triangulate my findings. I also thought that I would ensure construct validity by performing multiple interviews for each case. This idea was based on a more social science approach to the critique of resilience, which would have involved an in-depth investigation of certain organisations. During my second year, in particular, I moved away from this model and the idea that the interviews would provide a major basis for the discussion. However, like the observations, the individualised, semi-structured interviews offered a means for immersing myself in my object of study, meeting people and producing a finer understanding of the processes and practices discussed (Descombe, 2010). This approach is also in line with a materialist approach advocated in theatre and performance studies (Knowles, 2004). I performed fewer interviews than I anticipated (I originally projected to do 20-25), although the ratio between interviews dedicated to policy issues and art stayed roughly the same.

Finally, while my work is theoretically inflected, I have used close interpretation for the analysis of artworks. This approach presupposes an ontological, that is, both socio-historical and aesthetic conception of art that I presented in section 1.3.3. In practice, I engaged with a primary body of literature that is relevant to each work and artist I engaged with. I also endeavoured to perform an observation of the works at least twice, although not all components of sometimes complex case studies were observed twice. Like this introduction, most of the chapters contain moments of performance analysis or accounts of works and

encounters, which offer a different texture to the other kinds of discourses used in this thesis, often because they are first-person narratives written in the present tense. Some works I never encountered live but only through documentation that informants provided or that is available online. The documentation is understood to be an extension of the works that exist through different iterations and forms (events, texts, images, oral accounts and my own accounts).

The project followed the conventional ethical codes of academic research. For each interview, I secured informed consent, avoided deceiving or harming the subjects of study, and observed rules of confidentiality and data accuracy (Christians, 2005, pp.139–164). While I did not always discuss my own position and views with informants, I did not necessarily hide them either, if asked. There were a number of reasons for this. The first is that I believe that there is no such thing as value-free research. I follow the view that the ‘very purpose of all human research is to raise our consciousness regarding ethically suspect arrangements embedded in the structure of our social-cultural world’ (Soltis, 1989, p.128). However, this also implies that the researcher should not make their informants feel like they are being used. Part of this involved circulating some of the writing to interviewees in cases that I thought were necessary.

## **2. Resilience, crisis and the changing culture of administration**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I continue the inquiry into the histories of resilience (Q.1.a-b) and resilience understood in terms of ‘culture-as-resource’ (Q.2.a-b). Such an inquiry will take the discussion back ten years to New Labour’s second term in power in order to understand how and why the term resilience emerged in the field of culture and rose to prominence (Q.1b).

New Labour came to power in 1997 with a centrist, social-liberal programme known as the Third Way. Giddens (1998) claims that the Third Way was a balanced ideology that combines a liberal economic outlook with the social consciousness that the politics of Thatcher and her government lacked. However, many of its critics see in the Third Way a variant of liberal ideology (Steinberg and Johnson, 2004). Shaw (2008) has shown that private–public partnerships for the financing of infrastructure and capital projects swelled under New Labour. Elsewhere, Wilks-Heeg (2009) argues that the so-called modernisation of English local government under New Labour resulted in greater private sector involvement in housing and education. This was also the case for higher education as universities became fee-paying for students for the first time since 1962 (Anderson, 2016). Finally, new public auditing systems that were initiated by Thatcher as a means to subject public sector culture to the norms of the private sector were systematised by New Labour into a comprehensive form of auditing and performance measurement (Lapsley, 2009).

While the arts benefited from extra public funding throughout New Labour’s term in power (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014), New Labour’s support for culture was



arguably reflective of the party's particular brand of social-liberalism and the ethos of what Wu calls 'the corporate welfare state' (2002, p.278). According to Oakley (2004), culture was central to a party keen to place Britain at the vanguard of new IT and information-related economies. However, as shown by Hesmondhalgh et al. (2014), this championing of culture came with a number of strings attached, including the need to justify public support for culture in non-intrinsic terms (economic, social), a tendency that the same cultural industries scholars interpret as one of the most neoliberal characteristics of New Labour's cultural policies (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2015). In terms of the vocabulary used in thesis, this trend is connected to what I have termed the intensified subsumption of culture, which in policy terms bore a number of names, including the 'creative industries' and the 'creative economy' (Bell and Oakley, 2015; DCMS, 2001).

In the first part of this chapter, I present how the term resilience sedimented itself and developed in the field of culture in this historical context as part of discourses that were concerned by the internal colonisation of the state by overtly economic rationalities. This history will confirm that an ecological rationale and poetics was a key component of the term's development as part of a policy counter-discourse aiming to challenge the instrumentalist turn of New Labour policies. This counter-discourse will be shown to conform to the culturalist procedures identified in the introduction. The analysis will segue into a more general account of how resilience discourse develops during the end of New Labour's time in power at the hands of think tanks and other policy interest groups. By doing so, the analysis aims to give a sense of how, following Peck and Theodore (2010), the discourses and practices of resilience 'mutate and morph during their journeys' (p.170), while still conforming to the logics of 'culture-as-resource'. In fact, it is by mutating and morphing that resilience will be shown to

come into its own as ‘culture-as-resource’ rationale, after having begun as part of a counter-discourse that aimed to oppose instrumentalisation. In this respect, resilience in culture will be shown to follow a similar evolution to the one of ecological resilience theory discussed in the previous chapter and described by Walker and Cooper (2011, p.157) as having ‘moved from a position of critique (against the destructive consequences of orthodox resource economics) to one of collusion with an agenda of resource management that collapses ecological crisis into the creative destruction of a truly Hayekian financial order’.

After discussing some of the antecedents to resilience in ACE programmes and discourse as well as reviewing the current cuts to culture, the second part of the chapter will also outline ACE’s current strategic vision in which resilience holds a central place. The third part of the chapter concentrates on reviewing actual policy programmes. The review starts with ACE’s novel environmental policies, which diverge from the aims and objectives of other resilience programmes. The other sections of the third part will be dedicated to a review of ACE programmes that aim to build the sector’s financial resilience through a turn to philanthropy and private investment. The chapter finishes with an analysis of a case study, which was not included in the official ACE evaluations, but which will provide the opportunity to discuss the problem of violence and civility in relation to resilience in culture (Q.2c). At different points in the chapter, I discuss or include instances of administration art, including policy poetry, that is, poetry composed or used by policy-makers but also artists concerned with policy and the administration of culture. This inclusion also supports a wider discussion of what I will call, after McGuigan, the ‘rhetorics’ of resilience in policy (2004, p.92).

## 2.2 Pre-histories of resilience in culture

### 2.2.1 Rethinking cultural value and the *Valuing Culture* conference

I cannot know for certain whether the idea of resilience appeared in cultural discourse before the 2003 National Theatre (NT) conference on cultural value. However, it is in this context that I first found the notion being used. Hewison (2014) has described the NT conference titled *Valuing Culture* as forming part of an emerging counter-discourse that opposed what was perceived amongst certain leaders in the field as the damaging managerialism of New Labour's cultural policies. Against reductive economic and social-instrumental valuations of culture, the conference (co-organised by the centre-left think tank Demos) aimed, according to one of its organisers, to forge a language capable of 'reflecting, recognising and capturing the full range of values expressed through culture' (Holden, 2004, p.9). Many high-profile speakers, including NT director Nicholas Hytner and the then secretary of culture Tessa Jowell, set out to respond to this challenge. It is in John Holden's own response to this inquiry, which he formulated in the essay *Capturing Cultural Value* (2004), that I found the first traceable use of the term.

The idea of cultural value is in part a reworking of public value discourses popularised by a report co-authored by civil servants working with the ex-head and founder of the think tank Demos, Geoff Mulgan (Kelly et al., 2002). According to Lee et al. (2011) the idea of public value facilitated thinking about how 'the working practices of public servants might contribute to particular sorts of benefits found only in public services' (p.290). In his own pamphlet, Holden (2004) argues that cultural organisations, in collaboration with institutions and their constituencies, needed to articulate the higher-order, non-economic public goods (fairness and equality, communal health and prosperity) that they promote in

order to ground their organisation's work in ideals that they and their constituencies, as well as policymakers, recognised and legitimate. This would help, amongst other things, encourage self-determination in the sector and help avoid instrumentalism and mission-creep consequent upon politically expedient uses of culture.

The assertion of a discrepancy between culture as principle and its historical reality is already visible in the advocacy of the protection of higher order values against managerial instrumentalism. However, Holden also drew on ecological discourses in order to rethink the balance between instrumentalism and non-instrumentalism, drawing parallels between sustainability in culture and ecology that echo with Yúdice's (2003) notion of culture-as-resource. In his discussion, he uses the epithet 'resilient' in the context of a discussion about the necessity of diversity in cultural provision. He writes:

In a homeostatic system, individuals will compete and cooperate but will maintain an overall systemic balance through processes of complex adaptation. In the world of culture, analogous arguments can be made about the need for diversity in funding. [...] The broader and deeper the overall cultural 'system' the more resilient it will be in adapting to the changing needs of the society which it both forms and reflects (Holden, 2004, p.38).

Beyond Holden's personal affinity with this lexicon, the turn to ecology appears to have been of its time and certainly in vogue at Demos.<sup>10</sup> I found instances of this

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<sup>10</sup> In an email exchange that I had with Holden, he explained that he became personally interested in environmental questions thanks to his training. He was also influenced by

turn to ecological vocabularies in a Demos publication published around the same time, which was titled *The Adaptive State* (2003) and subtitled *Strategies for Personalising the Public Realm* (Bentley and Wilsdon, 2003). As its titles suggest, the document aimed to rethink the delivery of public services in the wake of their increased privatisation. Looking further, traces of this ecological discourse can also be found in the writings of Mulgan, the co-founder of Demos. The writings of the young Mulgan translated similar concerns but were published as part of *Marxism Today*, a review co-edited by Martin Jacques and Stuart Hall during the 1980s. In an article titled *The Power of the Weak* (1989), Mulgan uses biological and naturalist metaphors of ‘emergence’, ‘uncertainty’, ‘variety’ and ‘systems theory’ to critique top-down instrumentalism in politics. Although there is no direct correlation between Mulgan’s writings and Holden’s, this longer view suggests that the debates that took place at the NT formed part of a longer-term attempt to rethink the paternalist and welfarist function of the state in the context of the shifting relations between the public and private sector. A number of commentators, including Finlayson (2001) and before him Shivanandan (1990), also argued that this kind of thinking and the later work of *Marxism Today* constituted a shift to the centre that prefigured the politics of New Labour. The work of Demos, co-founded by Martin Jacques, can be understood as forming part of this shift to the centre in politics, as the rise of think tanks in politics accompanied a de-democratisation of the political sphere, which the playwright

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Throsby’s economic works, which deploy a similar ecological and economic rationale (Holden, 2015).

Steve Waters (2004), also a student of David Edgar, dramatised in a play on the issue (Waters, 2005).<sup>11</sup>

What should also be noted is that the discursive procedures underpinning this turn to ecology and biology are undoubtedly culturalist. Talk of diversity and systems thinking may have its roots in the natural sciences, but the shadows of Herderian cultural anthropology (diversity of cultures against imperialist civilisation) and sociological holism are never very far in the work of these authors. Furthermore, in both Mulgan and Holden's work, politics is equated with a form of instrumentality and authority that culture must challenge and rise against in order to establish its own kind of social authority: more organic, less mechanic (environmental discourses here reinforce the culturalist claim to authority). Having said that, this discourse is also underpinned by a claim to direct political relevance. As the next section explores, this pragmatism forms a key component in the development of resilience.

### **2.2.2 Mission Models Money and the art of organisational resilience**

This next section continues to track the evolution of the term 'resilience' and what Lecerle (2006, p.156) calls its 'metaphorical drift' at the hands of other cultural policy actors. By doing so, the analysis will show how the notion becomes more precise, while not entirely shedding its metaphorical appeal and plasticity.

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<sup>11</sup> Waters is also one of the UK writers to have addressed, in a prescient way, the politics of resilience in his work. The play *Resilience* was part of a diptych that premiered at the Bush Theatre in 2009 (Waters, 2015).

According to my findings, the adhocracy Mission Models Money (MMM) contributed in a major way to the development of the notion.<sup>12</sup> In his recent book, Robert Hewison treats MMM as forming part of the same counter-discourse as the NT debate on cultural value: according to him (he was one of the organisers of the NT conference), Clare Cooper and Roan Dods, who founded MMM in 2004, both attended the NT conference and had their initial discussions about the future work of MMM at the conference (Hewison, 2015). As an adhocracy, MMM aimed to address, through a number of action-research projects and public engagement activities, what its founders perceived to be the unsustainability of a financially vulnerable non-profit sector (Joss, 2008). Consequently, it investigated how a more sustainable triangulation of mission (programme development), innovative business models and income generation could be achieved by pioneering alternative modes of organisation and uses of resources (MMM, 2007). This was to be achieved by the sector adopting a more entrepreneurial mind set. This approach appears to depart significantly from the kinds of debates that animated the NT conference. However, MMM's argument was that such realignment, which shifts the terms of the discrepancy structuring cultural discourse towards its utilitarian end, was necessary for the field and its leaders to realise the value of culture.

While ecological metaphors and the term 'resilience' were already used in a number of early texts commissioned by MMM, the notion of resilience is not prominent in the early writings of MMM (Knell, 2007). It is only after the economic crash that the concept of resilience gained more visibility as well as precision. For

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<sup>12</sup> An adhocracy is a type of organisation defined by its lack of formal structure and bureaucracy. It is thought to draw inspiration from open source software (Wikipedia, 2018a).

instance, in *The People Theme* (2010), resilience becomes a term that is used as part of a theorisation of the attributes and competencies, qualities and behaviours needed for organisations to thrive in the uncertainty of a post-recession context. As well as illustrating the idea of risk management through capacity building, the report reproduces the usual ecological lexicon associated with resilience discourse (uncertainty, complexity, systems and diversity). Their definition of 'thriving' also appears to translate a variant of the idea of resilience:

Adapting to changing conditions in a life-friendly way to people and planet in order to maintain the function of making great work happen (Dods and Andrews, 2010, p.12).

The reference to people and planet may be surprising in this context. However, over the years the adhocracy developed a programme of work dedicated to environmental issues, which was understood to form a key component of the current civilisational crisis as well as solutions to it.

It is *Capital Matters* (2010), one of MMM's major reports, that really distils MMM's idea of resilience. The report diagnoses the state of the resilience of medium-sized organisations (or lack of) and makes a case for building it. It defines organisational resilience as follows:

The capacity to withstand financial shocks, such as the loss of a major donor, and to adapt, in pursuit of their mission, to a complex and rapidly changing operating environment (Bolton et al., 2010, p.9).



A number of factors hinder the building of resilience in arts organisations, according to the report. First, arts organisations tend to suffer from poor equity balance (difference between total assets and liabilities) and low reserves. The report also claims that arts organisations suffer from revenue concentration, claiming (and echoing the Young Foundation report reviewed in the previous chapter) that the sector is 'dependent on public funding, which makes up around 42% of sector income' (Bolton et al., 2010, p.22). Additionally, these revenues are often uncertain or restricted to specific activities. MMM also claims that public and private funders often penalise organisations with good reserves that could be used to invest in the organisation in order to maximise its income-generation potential.

According to MMM, medium-sized organisations may struggle financially, but they are often rich in other forms of capital including intangible assets such as brand value and reputation (symbolic capital), relations (social capital), and skills and knowledge (human capital). While arts organisations may already be efficient and good at generating mission-related income, MMM's argument is that assets within the field remain, on the whole, underdeveloped and underused. In order to change this, organisations need to 'shift away from a subsidy mindset to an investment mindset' (Bolton et al., 2010, p.3). To facilitate this change new funding schemes would need to be piloted, alongside joint fundraising schemes, cost cutting and resource pooling schemes, and joint commercial ventures with social enterprises. Additionally, the report also states that organisations need a strong focus on their 'audience or market' so that they can develop products tailored to demand (Bolton et al., 2010, p.18). On the whole, an organisation needs to build an entrepreneurial, flexible and collaborative culture that is endorsed at all levels of the organisation, including the board.

While no one formula fits all models, according to the report, asset maximisation can be achieved by ‘increasing spend per visitor/audience member in café/shop’, by winning ‘additional public service contracts’ (Bolton et al., 2010, p.17), and by developing new services (training and education programmes). Consultancy expertise and the licensing of products as well as the ownership of buildings are also cited as means to generate revenue. The report cites Newcastle-based Live Theatre turning its hand successfully to property development and real estate after losing 70% of its local authority income in the years following the crash. Since then, with loans from the council and European funds as well as grants from ACE, Live Theatre has been building an office block to rent, transforming an almshouse into a children’s literary centre and building an outdoor theatre as well as a park (Higgins, 2014).

The different means of building resilience and sustainability advocated in the report may appear to be good management practice. In effect, cafes and shops are an ordinary feature of venues these days. As the report suggests, the non-building-based National Theatre of Wales has demonstrated the value of flexibility as well as collaborative and partnership working. Vying for public service contracts is equally common, as the Camden example demonstrated. The report also shows how organisations such as Battersea Arts Centre have made good use of their buildings and developed mission-specific, marketable products by, for example, playing host to wedding parties delivered by their pool of theatrical artists. Increasing user engagement by using more volunteers and interns is equally a very common way of doing more for less. The report cites the Museum of East Anglian Life as an example of an organisation that uses hundreds of volunteers. Finally, having healthy reserves is no doubt an important asset (Bolton et al., 2010). For instance, Red Ladder Theatre Company lost its core funding in 2015. However, it

survived, in part, thanks to its reserves accumulated over the long years of its existence (Dixon, 2015). Its support base also played a key role in its continuing existence as the company ran a very successful crowdfunding campaign (Red Ladder Theatre Company, 2015). In this respect, and although the company is only small (not medium-sized), the company appears to be an example of resilience, as Gardner suggests (2013).

While these measures can help organisations manage risks, survive and even do well, these ideas are in no way value neutral or unambivalent. MMM legitimate and advocate a greater alignment of the non-profit to the profit motive and do so by presenting the recent economic crisis and the political choices taken in its aftermath as inevitable, an event to be placed on par with the issues of climate change and resource scarcity. In a way that is by now familiar, the report mobilises the idea that a crisis or shock is an opportunity for change, while naturalising these events through an environmental catastrophism that Evans and Reid (2014) suggest is characteristic of resilience discourse. Despite the gloomy forecast, MMM appears to think that a walk through a still lush forest of commodities will provide a way to transcend the situation and provide the means to realise the value(s) of culture in the face of its impending doom.

However, even taken on their own terms, this expedient thinking presents a number of problems and limitations. Most of the case studies that the report presents are of organisations with turnovers well above half a million pounds (Bolton et al., 2010). Consequently, some of the solutions discussed may not be appropriate for many smaller, even medium-sized, arts organisations. Reporting on a symposium organised by a small consortium of visual arts organisations, Rebecca Gordon-Nesbitt (2012) writes that the value that smaller visual arts organisations produce is extremely difficult to capture, recoup or maximise in

economic terms or on an individual basis as the realisation of value is deferred and diffused across a larger chain of production. Smaller organisations could pool together to try to better track the value they add to larger organisations (which are dependent on smaller organisations for their own work and programmes).

However, the danger is that this would foster an ethos of competition and suspicion between smaller organisations and their larger counterparts. During the symposium, it was asserted that there should be a better acknowledgement and understanding of the specificity of the contribution of smaller organisations to the sector and a better system of championing by larger organisations, which should differ from the quantitative systems of measurements employed by organisations with larger capacities and resources. This example suggests that the promise of self-sufficiency and sustainability that comes with the drive to maximise one's resources and convert non-economic assets into economic value is shot through with inequalities, which will more likely than not play in favour of larger organisations.

A similar problem characterises the call to use unpaid labour, interns and volunteers as means to augment organisational capacity. According to Edwards writing for Demos (2009), volunteering is one of the keystones for building resilience and capacity in communities. However, in an arts sector that is very often reliant on unpaid or badly paid work, as the Warwick Commission report (2015) has recently reasserted, as well as short contracts and low levels of union membership, encouraging volunteering and the use of unpaid labour is very problematic.

A now famous case illustrates this problem. The art activist group the Precarious Workers Brigade (2014a) wrote an open letter to FACT (Foundation for Art and Creative Technology) as they had noticed that an advertisement for

volunteer gallery invigilators went up around the same time as the organisation hosted an exhibition about the mutations in working life. FACT had decided to make a number of its casual staff redundant and build a pool of 70 volunteers to run its free exhibitions in collaboration with paid front-of-house staff. The rationale FACT gave for its decision was similar to the rationale advanced by MMM. As well as making it explicit that these losses, alongside other staff redundancies, were a consequence of the cuts, they also stated that ‘when we reviewed our Front of House structure we felt that it was no longer delivering the access to experience and opportunities that we knew it had the potential to do’ (Precarious Workers Brigade, 2014b, no pagination). In other words, the shift provided a way of maximising assets and resources in order to save income and expand FACT’s operations. While some of these volunteers might have been old-age pensioners, there is also a very good chance that a good portion will have been people looking for an inroad into employment in the sector. In the letter, FACT states that nearly half of its currently employed staff started out as volunteers or front-of-house staff. While this figure may be taken as proof that volunteering is a pathway into employment, it also suggests that volunteering is cheaper than paying for an intern and has the added advantage of covering labour exploitation with a moral veneer.

The semantic history of the term presented above reveals that resilience is a notion that has developed at the hands of a number of policy actors all tied to the debates on cultural value that took place in reaction to what elements of the leadership in the field perceived as an abusive instrumentalisation of culture. MMM’s work was shown to constitute a reversal of an arguably more idealist discourse of the NT conference. Yet, I also argued that MMM’s form of pragmatism emanated from the same place as the NT discourse and is defined by

the same problems: the organisation and management of culture understood as resource. The difference between both sub-discourses is that, in the case of MMM, the crisis of culture is not brought about by the 'internal colonisation' of the state and culture. Rather, culture is found to be in a critical state on account of its want of economic resources. This position implies that the crisis of culture, which became more acute by 2010, is resolvable through further subsumption.

If this history already confirms the pattern and shift identified by Walker and Cooper (2011) and discussed in the introduction of this chapter, it also confirms the peculiar characteristic of resilience in culture that I discussed in the introduction of this thesis. Namely, resilience conforms to Yúdice's (2003) idea of culture-as-resource. However, contrary to Yúdice's claim, resilience, even in its more pragmatic variants, does not shed its culturalist ideality completely, which functions as its ideological supplement. Rather, its utilitarian rationale appears to compose a unity of contraries with its opposite (the culture principle), which it nevertheless dominates. I will be showing that this is a key feature of resilience in the discourse of cultural administration; a feature that is important to the success of its legitimising, that is, ideological function and appeal.

## **2.3 National Policy, crisis management and resilience**

### **2.3.1 Stability, recovery, thrive, sustain?**

This section starts to examine the antecedents of resilience discourses and practices in actual national policy. As part of this, the analysis will continue an inquiry into the ambivalences of market-orientated policy rationales, by examining how interventions from the state have consistently palliated for market deficiencies, while also helping to embed marketised rationalities within the cultural sphere. A second section will develop the inquiry of the preceding part a

little further by looking at the work of an MMM associate who played a key role in the development of the notion of resilience, while the last section of this part will examine the cuts in more detail.

*Stability* and *Recovery* as well as their follow-up programme *Thrive* all took place between the mid 1990s and the late 2000s. After a long period during which, according to the evaluation of *Stability* and *Recovery* (ACE, 2008a), government investment in culture had fallen in real terms, many organisations struggled to stay afloat. A relaxation of how lottery money was used for non-capital projects meant that some money was allocated to devise schemes that would develop the long-term sustainability of struggling arts organisations (ACE, 2008a).<sup>13</sup> A large portion of the funds were used in the initial years of the fund as subsidy for the arts generally increased under New Labour. According to the evaluation (2008a), out of the 15 organisations partaking in the *Stability* programme, 12 entered with deficits, which as an accumulated sum equalled £11.4 million of debt. According to the ACE evaluation (2008a), over 40% of the money allocated during the pilot was simply used to mitigate this debt as well as to fund ‘infrastructure enhancement, one off change costs (e.g. redundancy)’ and ‘increase core funding or earned or development income’ (2008a, p.8). To successfully complete the programme, participants were required to review their organisational problems and then devise a business plan for change, which was to be delivered gradually. These programmes were followed in 2007 by *Organisational Development – Thrive!*, which was launched in the wake of ACE’s controversial review of the funding of

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<sup>13</sup> The National Lottery was inaugurated by Major’s government. However, it was under New Labour that its use as a means of funding culture was inaugurated, expanding considerably during its tenure in power (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2014).

their Regularly Funded Organisations (RFOs). The overall aim of the programme, which involved 22 organisations, came close to the idea of building resilience. The evaluation states that the programme aimed to develop ‘a systematic approach to developing organisational performance in order to build capacity to respond to and influence a rapidly changing environment’ (ACE, 2008b, p.2). Its five programme aims were ‘to support the development of arts organisations which are flexible, adaptable and fit for purpose’, ‘to provide arts organisations with a unique opportunity to develop and change’, ‘to improve decision making and leadership within the sector’, ‘to enable the arts infrastructure to continuously improve’, and ‘to strengthen the arts sector’ (ACE, 2008b, p.2). Resilience, however, only featured prominently in the third programme worth mentioning here, which was initiated in the wake of the economic crisis. *Sustain* was launched around the time of the first wave of cuts during New Labour’s final year in government. According to Hewison (2014), Alistair Darling cut £20 million pounds from the Department of Culture, Media and Sport’s 2010/2011 allocation, which resulted in a £4 million cut to the ACE budget. With the coalition government coming into power in May 2010, another wave of cuts was immediately announced by the chancellor of the exchequer, George Osborne. ACE’s annual review (2010) states a further £88 million was cut from the DCMS budget and a further £19 million was cut from ACE’s budget. *Sustain*, which was meant to ‘build resilience in tough times’ (ACE, 2010, p.12), was not dissimilar to the *Stability and Recovery* programmes inasmuch as the funds (£46.9 million distributed to 146 organisations) aimed to stabilise financially struggling organisations experiencing debt and loss of income due to the crisis or poor management. The organisations that benefited from the fund, according to the journalist Lyn Gardner, included the Royal Philharmonia Orchestra [sic], the Royal Opera House and the ICA in London



(Gardner, 2009a). According to Edemariam (2010), the ICA was saved from imminent closure, caused by what some understood as its reckless turn to corporate sponsorship (Charlesworth, 2010). These programmes in organisational risk and crisis management, which were criticised for their lack of transparency and for benefiting the high and mighty (Gardner, 2009b), are different from each other. However, they share in common something that Wu (2002) identifies when writing about private–public partnerships (PPP). Namely:

In the comfortable world of PPP [...] institutions can always take comfort from knowing that in good days private enterprise will be free to reap profits, while in the bad days the public can be counted upon to come to their rescue (Wu, 2002, p.279).

This rationale will be shown to be a key element of resilience discourses and practices in current national cultural policy as well.

### **2.3.2 Mark Robinson and northern grit**

It is around the coming to power of the coalition government and when the crisis was in full swing that Mark Robinson, an MMM associate and former chief executive of the Arts Council North East, wrote a couple of papers about resilience, which were published by the Arts Council (ACE, 2011, 2010). While I have found no hard evidence to suggest that organisations such as MMM had a direct influence

on the formation of resilience policies or the uptake of the term in governmental discourse, Mark Robinson's work shows that there is a link.<sup>14</sup>

The North East had undergone a long period of large-scale, culture-led regeneration of areas such as Gateshead, which was fuelled by capital investment as well as the presence of the Northern Rock Foundation, the philanthropic wing of the bank that first ran into trouble in 2007 (CTPositiveSolutions, 2012). Already feeling the effects of the crisis and anticipating the change in the funding climate, Robinson thought it was important to think more seriously about questions of financial sustainability and how best to support regularly funded organisations. However, the term 'sustainability' had become problematic for him as it became a notion to which organisations merely paid lip service to. So, he turned to the idea of resilience, which sounded more positive and proactive (CTPositiveSolutions, 2012).

In a similar way to MMM, Robinson's (2010) work on financial resilience is concerned with the socialisation of the risks tied to the economic crisis and the field. He argues for a greater differentiation between financial support for building developmental capacity of cultural organisations and grants for buying activity so as to allow organisations to become more resilient and self-reliant. Robinson also argues that a better understanding of the different investment mechanisms (other than philanthropy) needs to emerge in order to move away from dependence on diminishing public funds. Some of these ideas do not appear to have been taken up by institutions, as the new coalition government preferred to turn to philanthropy, individual giving and corporate sponsorship to plug the hole left by the cuts.

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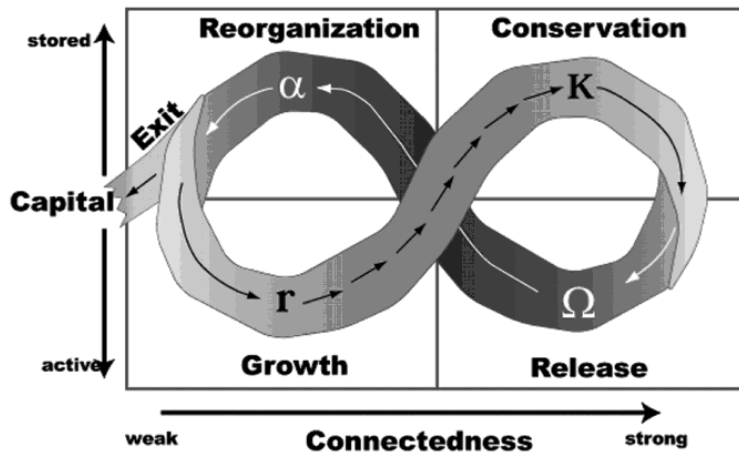
<sup>14</sup> A recent blog by a senior member of the ACE at the time also suggests this (Sinclair, 2017).

Nevertheless, Robinson's work on resilience has proved popular with the UK's policy actors. His definition of adaptive resilience is the following:

The capacity to remain productive and true to core purpose and identity whilst absorbing disturbance and adapting with integrity in response to changing circumstances (2010, p.14).

The characteristics of a resilient organisation, which are by now familiar from the discussion of MMM's work, include a shared purpose (strong identity); financial resources; being well connected; having many assets; a capacity to adapt and be flexible; strong leadership; and having situational awareness, which includes a strong awareness of developments in the field as well as of one's own vulnerabilities.

It is also noteworthy that Robinson's account of resilience also draws on the ecological discourse identified by Walker and Cooper (2011) in their genealogy of the term. Robinson (2010) takes inspiration from the work of C.S. Holling, which Walker and Cooper (2011) single out as being of particular importance in the development of contemporary understandings of resilience. Holling represented his theory of ecosystemic change and the resilience of ecosystems through an adaptive cycle that follows four phases:



**Figure 1.** The Adaptive Cycle (Walker and Cooper, 2011, p.148).

The figure shows the points at which an environment may flip into a different state (between kappa and gamma) but also how it reorganises and grows again thanks to its resilience (gamma to alpha). Robinson (2010) proposed that this model is particularly pertinent to understanding cycles of change in the ‘arts ecology’ (p.23), where sources of disruption and motives for reorganisation could be as diverse as a key member of staff leaving, a loss of a source of funding, a ‘flop’ or even a major artistic success. The growth phase denotes organisational beginnings, which might be highly innovative but remain unstable. Conservation, which he renamed ‘consolidation’ (Robinson, 2010, p.5), denotes the moment when an organisation establishes itself as a lasting actor within its own field and is able to produce and replicate innovative products that are both distinctive and attractive. Furthermore, this adaptive cycle can be understood to function on a micro-organisational scale as well as on larger scales, including on the scale of the field as a whole.

It is also worth noting that resilience researchers compare the adaptive cycle to Schumpeterian cycles of innovation-driven change and not to Hayek’s theories, as Walker and Cooper argue (Gunderson and Holling, 2002). Schumpeter (2010)

argues that capitalism is subject to periodic innovation-driven cycles of change and crisis commonly known as cycles of ‘creative destruction’. The invention of the internet is a paradigmatic example of such an innovation-driven cycle and is also one of the examples used by resilience researchers to illustrate the idea of the adaptive cycle in a social context (Gunderson and Holling, 2002).<sup>15</sup>

Robinson’s turn to these ideas should be placed in the context of a wider advocacy for a closer integration between what Fleming and Erskine (2011) understand as the subsidised arts ecologies and the profit-driven creative economy. Around the same time, policy consultants such as John Howkins were publishing books titled *Creative Ecologies* (2012), in which metaphors such as those of adaptation, path-dependent evolution and the models of Schumpeterian innovation were central in rhetorically aligning the arts to the larger creative economy. Robinson’s thinking constitutes a slightly different variant of this discourse and, in some respects, a more politically progressive one. Robinson appears to understand the connection between the models of resilience he promotes and liberal ideology, while affirming that resilience can be refunctioned. In his contribution to the issue of the journal *Engage* dedicated to resilience, he states the following:

There is a valid critique of how resilience has become both a buzzword and a policy priority at a time when the government in the UK is intent on shrinking the state and public spending, and when globalisation and international

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<sup>15</sup> I will not discuss the Schumpeterian theory of innovation in detail, which is not central to this thesis. However, Harvie (2013) and Boyle (2016) have discussed it in relation to the idea of ‘creative destruction’.

capitalism is intent on what it's always been intent on, making the rich richer.

Looking for ways in which you can maximise return from your work, your intellectual property, your earned income, and so on, could to some extent go with that flow of marketisation and privatisation which is so damaging in so many ways. However, in the words of Jim Beirne, when describing Live Theatre's approach to income generation to The Guardian's Charlotte Higgins. 'It's just a tool to deliver what we do. Of course, we have to be robust about what we stand for and what our values are. If we didn't do this, what the fuck else would we do?' (Robinson, 2015, no pagination).

Robinson (2015) goes on to argue that the conception of resilience that he advocates is in keeping with the tradition of working-class self-organisation. As the next chapter explores, ideas of radical self-organisation and resilience are not incompatible. However, I am not sure his own work for ACE is really concerned with this. The mention of Live Theatre in the North East, itself an exemplar of entrepreneurial dynamism, according to MMM, is in fact more revealing. It bears little relation to the history of cooperatives or trade unionism. On the contrary, its director appears to respond to resilience's political injunction to 'adapt or perish' (Rufat, 2015, p.196).

To his credit, though, Robinson does not choose to ignore the destruction that is the flip side of cycles of creative innovation. A figuration of destruction at the heart of processes of regeneration is found in his poetry (Robinson is a published poet), which strikes a very different tone to his policy writing. In his poem 'Dunno Elegies' – a reference to the 'Duino Elegies' by the neo-romantic poet Rilke – inspired by Teesdale in Middlesbrough, Robinson writes:

To walk this wilderness you must commit  
 to the past, to taking evidence  
 from the future. You must stand prepared  
 to stare down demons that draw strength from dirt  
 the difficult to leave behind dirt.  
 Head Wrightson spilt blood here, ran it off  
 into the river and called it rust, or money.  
 These call centres exist. But they are blank  
 as acetates laid over a map in a museum,  
 blank as minds of reluctant students.  
 Bombs could fall and no adrenalin would flow  
 (Robinson, 2013, p.19).

The poem, which refers to Thatcher's iconic walk through Teesside's devastated industrial landscape in the early 1980s, does indeed capture the creative destruction of capitalism in a place that the Young Foundation viewed as one of the most unresilient localities in the UK. The poet continues:

They made things here. The she-devil walked here  
 Clutching her handbag and nearly said sorry.  
 Suicides on the Durham bank of the river  
 Brought more than those souls washed up in Yorkshire.  
 Becoming angels left their heads bloated.  
 The streets are dotted with students hunting a pub.  
 The revolution will not be televised.  
 There is no song to this place, no rhythm,  
 It is all straight lines and ambient backwash  
 (Robinson, 2013, p.19).

The poem's inquiry into the destitution of time, its existential lamentation and angst as well as its yearning for salvation that is not of this world appears to be in keeping with Rilke's original poems. I will be returning to the truth of the experience that the poem captures in chapter 3 and 4. For now, because of the reference to Rilke's poem, I am tempted to extend Adorno's critique of 'the jargon of authenticity' to Robinson's writing about resilience, which appears in a quite different guise in this poem (Adorno, 1973, p.5).<sup>16</sup> The jargon of authenticity or the presentation of 'sub-language as superior language' (Adorno, 1973, p.6), of which, according to Adorno, Rilke was one of the precursors, elevates historical forms of consciousness that mystify domination. Not exactly a lofty ideal, resilience nonetheless appears in the policy writing of Robinson to offer the promise of a better collective destiny, which the canny manager of the Live Theatre summarises with his down-to-earth retort, 'If we didn't do this, what the fuck else would we do?' (Higgins, 2014).

### **2.3.3 The cuts and the containment of the flood**

Jim Bearne's reaction and question are indeed legitimate and speak truth about the constrained character of such decisions. There is no doubt that 50% cuts to Newcastle's local authority's arts and culture budget contributed to shaping Bearne's view (Higgins, 2014), as did the wider political decisions taken by the incoming coalition government. In October 2010, the chancellor announced that the DCMS budget would be reduced by 25% by 2014/2015. As part of the settlement ACE received a 29% cut. The council was expected to cut its administrative budget by half and pass on no more than 15% cuts to their

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<sup>16</sup> This analysis is inspired by the analysis of Neocleous (2011).



regularly funded organisations, soon to be rebranded the National Portfolio Organisations (NPOs) (BBC, 2010). National museums suffered a 15% cut as well, while English Heritage received a more significant cut of 32% (Hewison, 2014). In addition, since 2007, a significant amount of lottery money, a portion of which is traditionally allocated to the arts, had been diverted from its usual purpose to fund the London Olympics in 2012 (Harvie, 2015). The October 2010 cuts were just the first to hit the DCMS and its non-departmental government bodies. At the end of 2012, further cuts to DCMS budgets were announced and passed on to ACE. These translated into a £3.9 million cut to ACE's budget in 2013/2014 and a £7.7 million cut in 2014/2015, both passed on to arts organisations (Brown, 2012). In June 2013, another round of cuts to the DCMS budget (7%) and to ACE (5% for 2015/2016) were welcomed by many leaders in the field as 'a good result' (BBC, 2013, no pagination). Finally, in December 2013, the DCMS budget was cut further, and a 1% cut passed on to the Arts Council, which passed it on to its funded organisations for 2014/15 and 2015/2016 (Smith, 2013). As part of the Whitehall in-year budget review for 2015/2016, the newly elected conservative government announced a further £30 million cut to DCMS and its non-departmental public bodies for the same financial year, although ACE confirmed that the cuts would not affect the grants of its funded organisations for that year (Sullivan, 2015). While much larger cuts were expected for the comprehensive spending review of 2015, DCMS ended up suffering only another 5% cut while ACE was told that it would receive a cash increase between 2015 and 2020 (BBC, 2015).

The other major blow to publicly-funded culture was the draconian cuts to local authority budgets. Figures and modes of calculation differ, but ACE claims that local authority funding for NPOs between 2010 and 2015 fell by £236 million or 17% (Harvey, 2016). Nevertheless, still according to Harvey (2016), NPOs have

increased their overall budgets by 17% thanks to self-generated revenue and fundraising over the same period, although its research confirmed that this is not valid for smaller organisations and non-London-based organisations. This difference may be understood to reflect a historical imbalance in the funding distribution between the metropolis and the regions but also between the few largest arts organisations in England and the rest. According to Harvie (2015), the largest arts organisations receive 30% of the council's total funding, and Stark et al. (2013) estimate that DCMS and ACE expenditure per head is 15 times higher in London (£68.99 per head) than in the regions (£4.58).

In March 2011, 110 new organisations were added to the national portfolio, while 206 arts organisations lost their core funding (Higgins, 2011). According to Harvie (2015), this included 38 theatre companies. More cuts were imposed on funded organisations for 2015–2018. Still, according to Harvie (2015), this led to another 58 organisations losing their funding. In addition, critics have lamented the effects of such cuts on culture as a whole. For many, the accelerated realignment of non-commercial culture to commercial imperatives has led to the death of what the online magazine Mute calls 'genuine diversity and antagonism' (van Mourik Broekman, 2011, no pagination). The 100% cut to Mute magazine in 2012, one of the visual-arts-based publishing organisations consistently producing an online critical culture, could be in itself understood to be a measure of this new conformism (van Mourik Broekman, 2011).

It is worth examining briefly whether and how this destruction is (or rather not) registered in ACE policy rhetoric, which will provide the opportunity to return to a discussion of the ideological function of the humanist ideal of culture and its accompanying ecological rhetoric. The public relations videos that ACE has produced since the economic crash are a good place to start for this.

A video titled *Our Funding Ecology* (2014) aims to illustrate ACE's approach to funding. It starts with the depiction of an imaginary yellow island representing England. The island gradually fills up with water that rises through the 'bedrock' of funding that gives birth to streams, lakes, flowers and tufts of grass. Fantastical creatures, ranging from walruses dressed in top hats, to giant snakes, green and red pharaohs, monkeys and butterflies, exist side by side with the landmarks that are meant to define the nation: Gormley's Angel of the North, Shropshire's Iron Bridge, the Lake District. At the centre of this entire bustle is the Arts Council, represented as a water mill. The different characters exist on the site of cities the names of which appear at the centre of water points irrigated by streams of funding that start at the water mill but travel the country through an intricate mechanical system of piping. Flying watering cans that pour coins onto a land of plenty fly over the island, propelled, as if by magic, by zeppelin-like helium balloons (Arts Council England, 2014).

No catastrophism or flooded field here. Instead, the nostalgic ideal of organic fulness returns in style to reassert the gap between the principle of culture and its bad present, which the former embellishes and softens. Hathereley (2016) observes that contemporary nostalgia, as found in the revamped and repackaged war propaganda 'keep calm and carry on' posters, recasts the past and its ideologies of austerity in order to hide the violence of the present. This animation is no different. Its aesthetics are not only those of 'Little Britain', the opposite yet complement of imperial Britannia. They are also reminiscent of the rhetoric of *The Glory of the Garden*, the ten-year strategic document previously published by the Arts Council during Thatcher's second term in power (ACGB, 1984). It was the first such document to openly promote the paradigm of mixed public-private funding (although this took some time to take effect, according to Wu (2002)) at a time that

saw the rise of organisations such as Arts & Business –MMM’s Clare Cooper worked as head of development at Arts & Business for a number of years – which were directly funded by the government and ACE to promote private investment in the arts (Wu, 2002). *The Glory of the Garden* was named so by the then chairman of the organisation, William Rees-Mogg, after a poem written by the capable but equally conservative poet Rudyard Kipling:

Our England is a garden, and such gardens are not made  
By Singing – ‘Oh, how beautiful,’ and sitting in the shade  
While better men than we go out and start their working lives  
At grubbing weeds from gravel-paths with broken dinner-knives.

There’s not a pair of legs so thin, there’s not a head so thick,  
There’s not a hand so weak and white, nor yet a heart so sick  
But it can find some needful job that’s crying to be done,  
For the Glory of the Garden glorifieth everyone  
(Kipling, 2013, no pagination).

As Kipling’s verse suggests what is at stake then as now is what could be called, after one of the chapters of *The Country and the City* (Williams, 1973, p.60), the fashioning of a ‘morality of improvement’ that aims to realign non-commercial or semi-commercialised culture to an entrepreneurial ethos. This so-called process of modernisation, however, goes hand in hand with its opposite: a structure of retrospect, which nostalgically elevates the glorious ideal of culture and nature over its rather more violent condition of historical existence.

Another video (2013) presents the interrelated aims of ACE’s new ten-year strategy in the form of a series of ideograms, images and words that morph

according to the different logics of colour, narrative and rhythm. The ideograms start with the idea of creating excellence in art for everyone, including young people, and go on to present the idea of a financially resilient and environmentally sustainable field with the right skills and diversity. The ideogram representing resilience is a dark-green umbrella that opens up over the words 'arts organisations', 'museums' and 'libraries', with the word 'artists' huddled under the umbrella, as if taking shelter from the rain. The image changes seamlessly into a coin-like, dark-green icon appearing on a light-green background that announces the organisation's third overarching aim: resilience and sustainability. The icon changes into the recognisable, three-arrowed logo of environmental sustainability, which transforms again into a collection of coins that amass in neat piles to connote thriftiness and business acumen. The seamless animation evokes 'unbounded possibility and the power of reinvention' through its mix of familiar and fantastical signs (Lash and Lury, p.88). It illustrates how 'we can author our modernity, not only survive the shocks but run ahead of them' (Klein, 2000, pp.36–37).

The video depicts how the goal of resilience in ACE's ten-year strategic document *Great Art for Everyone* (2013) underpins, alongside that of sustainability, what Chartrand and McCaughey (1989) understand to be the traditional Reithian goal of promoting excellence in the arts. According to the strategic document, resilience would be 'the vision and capacity of organisations to anticipate and adapt to economic, environmental and social change by seizing opportunities, identifying and mitigating risks, and deploying resources effectively in order to continue delivering quality work in line with their mission' (ACE, 2013, p.31). This neutral, technocratic language mixes elements of the different definitions of resilience encountered thus far, while also exemplifying the logics of

‘culture-as-resource’. The emphasis on keeping true to one’s mission and values while adapting to change resonates with Mark Robinson’s definition while also reaching over to include environmental and social concerns in a way that exemplifies what Neocleous views as resilience’s ‘jargon of total global management’ (2015, no pagination).

The next part goes on to discuss environment- and economic-related policies, forsaking the somewhat more nebulous social dimension of resilience policies evoked in the definition above, of which I will nevertheless say a word. Unsurprisingly, this social dimension appears to draw rhetorically on the public value debates and research that the institution conducted into public value. The document states that the ‘demonstration of the public value of arts and culture’ will be achieved ‘by building the social capital of communal relationships’, which in turn, it is assumed, should build community resilience (ACE, 2013, p.32). This rhetoric, however, appears to be nothing more than hot air in a watering can-bearing zeppelin balloon. Gray (2008) has already unpicked the problems with ACE’s appropriation of the notion in the wake of the debates on cultural value, suggesting that the research conducted by the institution failed to engage with the significance and value of the arts to the non-art using general public. More recently, Jancovich (2015) has argued that the ideal of participation, which underpins the ideal of great art for everyone, remains equally mythical in character. She claims that a strong correlation between participation in cultural activity and socio-economic privilege persists, which confirms deep inequalities in the distribution of cultural and social capital. She argues that participation in decision-making and budgeting also remains elitist and controlled by vested interests, confirming the claim that culture, as historically existing and institutional ideal, legitimates a lack of social involvement and social change.

In the preceding part, I established how resilience has become a key component of the discourse and imagination of the institution of culture. I also established how the rise of resilience in institutional discourse coincided with significant budgetary cuts which, as the analysis of the third part will show, have been accompanied by the promotion of private investment in the field. The preceding analysis also confirmed that, as in many other fields, the ecological character of the discourse is an important element in its appeal or what Neocleous views as resilience's attempted 'colonisation of the political imagination' (2013, p.4). Through the analysis of the PR videos, in particular, I was able to show that ecology also partakes in the ideal of culture, which as supplement to expedient logics of culture-as-resource, blocks out and softens the harsher reality of subsumption. The next section goes beyond a discussion of discourse to examine some of the policy practices that are linked to resilience. It starts with a review of its environmental policies, which will confirm that ecology plays an ambivalent role while also suggesting that the green tone of ACE's latest strategic document is not entirely harmonious.

## **2.4 Resilience in policy practice**

### **2.4.1 New environmental policies and eco-art**

In 2012, ACE claimed to have become the first arts funding body in the world to embed legally binding environmental policies as part of its agreements with funded organisations. The institution works in partnership with Julie's Bicycle, an environmental charity dedicated to promoting environmental sustainability in the creative and cultural industries. Since 2012, office and building-based organisations are required to draft an environmental policy and action plan to reduce their carbon emissions, predominantly measured through gas and

electricity but also water (Julie's Bicycle, 2015), as part of a drive towards managing the risks linked to climate change.

The histories of these environmental policies are interesting in themselves as they reveal a contested history that complicate purely negative assessments of resilience. A number of people I spoke to in an interview context and more informally (Pinder, 2016a, 2016b), confirmed that the Arts Council's environmental policies came into existence after a small group, gathered by James Marriott from the activist organisation Platform, exerted pressure on ACE to develop its environmental policies following the realisation that, of the small group of organisations that held environmental agendas at the heart of their activity, none were included in the NPO portfolio in 2012. This loose coalition of mainstream organisations went on to hold talks with the Arts Council, which resulted in the latter announcing its new environmental policies in 2012.

The policies are relatively mainstream in terms of their scope, while nonetheless constituting a significant gain. The aim of the collaboration between ACE and Julie's Bicycle is to 'track environmental impacts from energy and water use, as carbon footprints, for the arts community' as well as 'inspire organisations to be more environmentally sustainable' (Julie's Bicycle, 2015, p.4). These aims remained the same for 2015–2018 with an added emphasis on helping arts organisations meet the required reductions (Julie's Bicycle, 2017). By 2015, nearly all of the portfolio was engaged in the programme and over two-thirds of the portfolio (mostly building-based organisations) were actively reporting on their carbon footprint (Julie's Bicycle, 2015). By 2017, the number of organisations reporting on their carbon footprint had increased from 469 to 623 (Julie's Bicycle, 2017). In 2015, 90% of the portfolio had an environmental policy, 86% an environmental action plan, and 40% of the portfolio went beyond what was



required by their funding agreements (Julie's Bicycle, 2015, p.15). From 2012/2013, Julie's Bicycle has tracked a 5% average decrease in energy use emissions, which the report claims are 'well within national and international emissions reduction targets' (Julie's Bicycle, 2017, p.5). Their reports indicate that, due to reduced use of energy, the field has become more energy efficient and financially resilient: the savings in energy and use of more sustainable means of production would have amounted to an £11 million saving between 2012 and 2015 (Julie's Bicycle, 2015). Julie's Bicycle also reports that these policies often boost 'team morale' in the field and produce 'reputational' benefits for organisations (Julie's Bicycle, 2015, p.28).

The work on environmental sustainability goes beyond reporting on energy and water consumption. Many building-based organisations have been working towards making their operations greener at all levels. For example, since 2007, the London-based Arcola Theatre has been running its Arcola Energy Project. As part of this, the theatre has installed 24 square metres of solar panels, which are used by the theatre and fed back into the national grid to earn extra income. Solar thermal panels are used to heat water, while the building is heated through a carbon-neutral Therminator boiler. Bricks and timber, amongst other materials, were 'upcycled' (the reuse of materials) for the renovation of the new building. The organisation proudly claims that this process saved the theatre £13,000 (Arcola Theatre, 2018). Similar such approaches have been adopted using infrastructural capital investments by various organisations, such as the Bush Theatre and the Live Theatre in Newcastle (Masso, 2017).

These practices extend to productions as well. The most interesting among these productions are those in which new performance conventions are being experimented with. For instance, the Australian designer Tanja Beer, one of Julie's

Bicycle's collaborators, developed the concept of eco-scenography. She co-devised and co-created *The Living Stage* (2011), which combines stage design, permaculture (an alternative agricultural practice that aims to build more resilient living and growing systems) and community engagement to create performance spaces that are biodegradable or multi-functional (functioning as, for example, performance space, community space and edible garden). Effectively, these collaborative community works give a radically different meaning to the idea of the garden – less a process of enclosure and more of a process of commoning and communing (Beer, 2015).

Finally, this work on environmental issues extends to advocacy through networks of venues and organisations interested in developing culture as a resource against climate change. These include the European network Imagine 2020 and Tipping Point, as well as Emergence in Wales (Gingold, 2016; Allen et al., 2014). As Imagine 2020 will be discussed in the next chapter, it is worth presenting Tipping Point briefly. One of the aims of Tipping Point, set up in 2007 by Peter Gingold, was to bring climate scientists and artists together in order to create bridges between disciplines and practices as well broaden the perspectives of both. Tipping Point has held events attracting high numbers of speakers and participants from all around the world, including New York, Brussels, Montpellier, Cape Town, Australia, Oxford and Newcastle, where ACE launched its new environmental policies. Since 2009, Tipping Point has also supported the creation of new works, through an open application process. Many of these commissions were theatre or performance-based, although other commissions were centred on music and writing. Not unsurprisingly, the writing commissions produced their very own strains of policy poetry based on reports from the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (Butler et al., 2017).

On the whole, the discourses and practices of these social actors, which are in large part and in different ways concerned with culture as resource, are more progressive than most of the resilience discourses and practices reviewed thus far. These organisations have opened a collective space within which to discuss and address the environmental dimension of the current crisis of capitalism as well as a space within which a critique of capitalism can be articulated from an ecological perspective. In artistic terms, this formation is at its best when it produces interdisciplinary knowledge exchange but also new conventions of work and forms of consciousness, having made its own the idea that culture is central to effecting social change.

Despite these strengths, a number of problems characterise this formation as well. For example, one may wonder how much the production of plays and grand spectacles about the catastrophe of climate change will, in the greater scheme of things, effect more fundamental social change. In addition, the launch of an environmental policy at a time of large-scale public funding cutbacks, while laudable, is also arguably very convenient for an institution wanting legitimacy. The institution appears to be recycling itself by giving some substance to its green nostalgia and by appealing to a redemptive environmental-cum-cultural ideal that gives the appearance of wholeness to an ever more fragmented institution of culture, helpless or, worse, complicit in face of a more general change in political climate.

Before moving on to the next section, I would like to reiterate how the policy programmes described above relate to the second question of this research, which interrogates the scope (ends and diversity) of resilience practices. On the one hand, the environmental scope of these policies appears to confirm the thesis famously developed by Bennett (1997) that culture is:

A pluralized and dispersed field of government, which far from mediating the relations between civil society and the state or connecting the different levels of a social formation, operates through, between and across these in inscribing cultural resources into a diversity of programmes aimed at directing the conduct of individuals towards a variety of different ends, for a variety of purposes, and by a plurality of means (1997, p.77).

Such policies testify to the existence of a plurality of potentially contradictory policy aims as well as to potential internal conflicts within the logics of 'culture-as-resource'. However, as suggested in the preceding paragraph, my view is that these environmental policies and the culturalist discourse that envelop them contribute to the construction of an appearance of unity and reconciled coherence which, however fictive, bolsters the legitimacy of the state and its institutions in effecting the socialisation of crisis and destruction along liberal lines. In this sense, these policies have a key mediating function in times of change and crisis, an argument that I will revisit towards the end of this chapter through a case that displays similar characteristics. For now, I turn to a discussion of the programmes that aimed to build financial resilience in the wake of the cuts.

## **2.4.2 Building resilience through philanthropy and fundraising**

### **2.4.2.1 Philanthropy in historical perspective**

When ACE's budget was cut by £100 million, the coalition government announced a push towards a funding model promoting private investment that aimed, according to the secretary for culture at the time, 'to combine the best of US-style philanthropic support with the best of European-style public support' (Hunt, 2010,

no pagination). The work of Wu (2002) and Harvie (2013) also suggests that this trend, which has gained ground over the last 40 years, can be considered to be an Americanisation of a British policy model. This Americanisation is therefore also a neoliberalisation of its policy model, if the neoliberal paradigm is understood, after Watkins (2010), to be an American paradigm. While this is undoubtedly true, I also think that it would be valuable to place this historical shift within a much longer history of Anglo-liberal thinking, which Mulhern (1996) and more recently Upchurch (2016) have shown finds its roots in Victorian culturalist discourses. Upchurch (2016), for instance, shows that while there are marked differences between the American, Canadian and British philosophies of arts patronage, many of the philanthropists and intellectuals who shaped these different models influenced each other. The famous American philanthropist Carnegie, an avowed Social Darwinist, was also a personal friend of British critic, poet and social thinker Matthew Arnold; while Massey, the diplomat and philanthropist who is deemed to have played a key role in the establishment of the Canada Council, mixed socially with John Maynard Keynes, one of the architects of the Arts Council. Beyond these immediate figures, the art and thought of the Bloomsbury group of which Keynes was a part testifies to how deeply rooted the association of art and philanthropy is among British intellectuals. As Mulhern (2000) reminds us, the painter Clive Bell, the husband of Virginia Woolf's sister, maintained in one of his major essays that civilisation (in this context synonymous with culture as principle) was dependent on the existence of a leisured class, a minority capable of developing policies that could integrate the labouring classes into a civilising process in which class struggle, as such, had no place. In E.M. Forster's novel *Howards End* (2013), which Mulhern (2015) argues was written as an exercise in committed (Arnoldian) cultural criticism, culture finds itself reconciled with the utilitarianism of capitalist

society in the persona of Margaret Schlegel. She is the character of the novel who attempts to 'see life steadily and see it whole', according to the Arnoldian adage, claiming that 'our business is not to contrast the two, but to reconcile them' (Forster, 2013, p.111). The 'two' here refers to what she calls the 'seen' and 'the unseen' (Forster, 2013, p.111), that is, money and spirit, capitalist pragmatism and culture, the two constitutive parts of the unity of contraries that, I am arguing, is also constitutive of resilience in culture. By marrying the head of the philistine Wilcoxes she, who chose to see life whole, can be united with someone who sees it steadily. Meanwhile, she and her sister do their best as philanthropists to guide the aspiring working classes, figured in the novel by the person of Mr. Bast, into the realm of so-called 'sweetness and light'. Unfortunately, Mr. Bast ends up being crushed and killed by a bookshelf, suggesting that culture is, after all, not the preserve of the working classes whose aspirations to access it can only produce one thing – catastrophe.

The moral and motto of the novel is nevertheless a culturalist one – 'only connect' (2013, p.198).<sup>17</sup> The motto, as Mulhern (2000) points out, served as the title of a series of lectures by the then director general of UNESCO Richard Hoggart (1972). These connections may seem somewhat anecdotal and beside the point. However, I mention them here as, in my view, they reveal how post-war critical liberalism and welfare culture is historically tied to a form of thinking that is germane to the liberal philosophies of philanthropy. It also suggests that if we are

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<sup>17</sup> 'Only connect! That was the whole of her sermon. Only connect the prose and the passion, and both will be exalted, and human love will be seen at its height. Live in fragments no longer. Only connect and the beast and the monk, robbed of the isolation that is life to either, will die' (Forster, 2013, p.198).

to accept the idea that the promotion of philanthropy and private investment in culture constitutes a neoliberalisation of the field of culture, then this process should also be understood to reactualise ideologies that predate welfarism but which British welfarist culture was nonetheless partly build on and inspired by.

Actual socio-economic data appears to confirm that philanthropy and private investment is a form of corporatised welfare for an age of exacerbated inequalities, which is, despite vast differences, perhaps not unlike that in which Margaret Schlegel is supposed to have lived. Alvaredo et al. (2013) have shown that the share of income of the top 1% rose by 105 points between 1980 and 2007 in the UK, from around 5% of the total income to above 15%, which was the level attained before the Second World War. This share rose just as significantly under New Labour as under the Conservatives. Amongst Anglophone countries, this rise is the second largest after the US. Top marginal income tax rates, which had been consistently higher than 70% between the mid 1930s and early 1980s in the UK, were slashed under Thatcher's government, dropping to 40% by the end of the 1980s, the level at which they were not long after E.M. Forster completed his novel in 1910. These levels remained under New Labour, indicating that nothing was done to reverse this trend. While correlation does not amount to causation, the data nevertheless strongly suggests that there is a relation between tax cuts for the rich and the rise of private investment in the arts. Private investment (a mix of individual giving, trusts and foundations and business sponsorship) in culture, rose from £600,000 in 1976 to £686.6 million in 2007/2008 in the UK as whole, according to Hesmondhalgh et al. (2014) who refer to Arts & Business figures. What's more, Wu (2002) shows how this shift was achieved through government intervention that heavily incentivised private giving in the arts through various schemes as well as a liberalisation of taxation. This trend continued during New

Labour's tenure in power, with private investment in culture increasingly significantly since the early 2000s (Mermiri, 2010).

When Hunt, aided by the chancellor of the exchequer who announced a series of tax breaks (Harvie, 2013), proclaimed that 2011 was going to be 'The Year of Corporate Philanthropy', he was building on this trend (Hunt, 2010, no pagination). However, despite the grand announcement, 2011 was not a success from the point of view of philanthropic giving. After two years of contraction in private investment in the arts, 2011 was the year when private investment returned to its 2008 levels (without accounting for a 2% yearly inflation rate). This suggests that the total private investment in the arts in 2011 was still lower than in 2008. The support of trusts and foundations did increase during that year. However, in 2011, over 60% of trusts and foundations income went to London-based organisations, which hardly redresses the long-standing inequalities in the distribution of waning public funds for culture (Arts & Business, 2011).<sup>18</sup> This policy flop arguably turned Hunt's declaration into what linguist Marie-Dominique Perrot calls an 'anti-performative', that is, when the performative (declarative) form of a statement is cancelled by its content (2002, p.220).

The *Catalyst* programmes were the main vehicle for effecting Hunt's agenda. Their analysis, in the next section, will inflect the discussion of resource management performed thus far towards the question of the garnering privatised 'infrastructural supports' (Woolf, 2015, p.108).

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<sup>18</sup> The survey on private investment done by Arts & Business was discontinued after 2012. ACE has recently started the survey again, although with different criteria (ACE, 2016).



#### 2.4.2.2 Catalyst

For the first *Catalyst* programme, launched in 2012, £55 million was distributed by ACE, DCMS and Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) to a total of 18 arts organisations and museums in order to build endowments (ACE, 2015a). Endowments are sums of money that organisations fructify over half a century in order to build up additional sources of income through the interest generated. Most of the 18 organisations that received part of the £30.5 million from ACE (HLF distributed funds to 16 museums (Harvie, 2013)) were music organisations and half of them were based in London. Another £30 million was allocated to a second tier consisting of 173 organisations. These received grants of between £120,000 and £240,000 to consolidate their fundraising experience and build their capacity. Finally, £7 million went to 62 consortiums that brought together 217 organisations with little or no experience of fundraising in order to build capacity in this area (ACE, 2015a).

The results of this first *Catalyst* programme were, according to Richens (2015), very mixed. Although ACE reports downplay the failures, Tier 1 organisations under-performed considerably. Instead of raising the £54.5 million they were asked to raise, the 18 organisations managed to raise £29.7 million, which unlocked only £19.5 million in match funding from ACE. This meant that nearly £12 million of the original £30.5 million originally allocated to the Tier 1 programme was not distributed. Only 50% of the organisations on the programme managed to meet their targets. The Serpentine Gallery, which was granted £3 million, failed to raise any eligible funds. Three of the 18 chosen organisations failed to achieve 50% of their targets. Among other things, ACE evaluation's (2015) suggests that raising money for endowments is a complex and time-consuming process as endowments are a less-established form of fundraising in the UK. This is

an indication that the Americanisation of art's infrastructure is an ideal more difficult to achieve than Hunt would have desired.

In comparison, Tier 2 organisations, a quarter of which were London based, were more successful. Richens (2015) claims that 85% of the organisations met their targets, and close to £20 million was raised. The over-performance of London-based organisations was also less pronounced (although significant difference between London/South East and the rest remain), with funds being raised more equally across regions (ACE, 2017). The good practices that the final *Catalyst* report cites as contributing to this success include 'designing a compelling case for support', 'developing a mission and vision led fundraising strategy' and 'identifying fundraising assets' (ACE, 2017, p.8), as well as having clarity about the value of the organisation and its distinct contribution to the wider landscape. The report also mentions the importance of 'developing fit-for-purpose governance' and 'establishing a culture of fundraising within the organisation' (ACE, 2017, p.7). Finally, as well as understanding the motivations of the donors, good practice includes the use of 'consistent and effective messaging' or marketing, which might also include the consolidation of the organisation's brand or even re-branding (ACE, 2017, p.7). The report discusses a number of successful cases, including Watermill Theatre, which after it revamped its fundraising campaign, engaged over 500 new donors, including 230 members. New Writing North reported leveraging support, including through a crowd funding campaign, by focusing its campaign on its young writers' programmes as well as on the setting up of a new writer's award.

The report, in line with resilience discourse, suggests that success comes to those with entrepreneurial and business flair. It cites Victoria Pommery, head of the Turner Contemporary, stating that *Catalyst* resulted in 'a real cultural shift

towards becoming an income generating and entrepreneurial organisation that is run like a business and is not afraid to make the ask' (ACE, 2017, p.49). The report showcases other examples of entrepreneurialism, with the Ministry of Stories making for a particularly interesting case. The creative writing and mentoring centre was established to support young people based in Hackney by pairing them up with professional writers who volunteer their time. While the venue is non-ticketed, it partners with a shop called Monster Supplies. The organisation, including its shop, has a strong identity that draws on fantasy worlds reminiscent of *Harry Potter* and the Roald Dahl novels. ACE's report states that the organisation aimed to rely on public funding for not more than 25% of its income, which is considerably less than the average for a publicly funded organisation. To meet this target, it has attracted many high-profile donors, has developed a three-year corporate partnership with Penguin Random House, with whom it hosts fundraising events, and has developed payroll giving schemes, which is apparently rare for a literature organisation.<sup>19</sup> The organisation, which is making plans to expand beyond London, has a database of no fewer than 300–400 volunteers, which includes mentors but also volunteer shopkeepers (ACE, 2017).

Despite all of this, the Ministry of Stories has stressed that its expansion has been slower than planned as funds from individual giving as well as trusts and foundations have become harder to raise, due to the fierce competition in the field (ACE, 2017). This has been widely reported by other organisations in relation to trusts and foundation funds, in particular. Raising funds has been made harder by

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<sup>19</sup> Wu (2002) details how payroll giving, which comprises money taken out of an employee's pay or a donor's donation prior to tax, became more popular during the 1980s, the decade when Britain's tax system was progressively but systematically overhauled.

the fact that, while many of the practices that were encouraged by *Catalyst* were continued by more confident organisations, organisations also found it harder to fundraise once match funding offered by the Arts Council stopped being available (ACE, 2017). This fact confirms that the corporate welfare state continues to play a fundamental role in the privatisation of culture. In other words, subsumption is not a matter of spontaneous ‘emergence’.

In order finish this section on *Catalyst*, I discuss a final case, which will provide the opportunity to further unpick the limits to the socialisation of crisis that resilience programmes purport to perform.

Akademi South Asian Dance UK is an organisation that was part of the second tier. On the basis of their past successes with philanthropy, they decided to experiment with individual giving. They did so through various means, including crowdfunding campaigns and fundraising events hosted by one of their board members, the benefits of which were also maximised by the use of databases of potential donors (ACE, 2017). However, they used their participation on the programme as an opportunity to organise their first fundraising gala, hosted in the nine-hectare property of Indian construction mogul H.S. Narula and his wife Surina, who acted as a hostess and patron to Akademi. For the occasion, Akademi decided to stage a promenade performance, which recreated the world of *Umrao Jaan* (1981), a famous Hindi film. The film is based on the first novel in modern Urdu, which bears the same title. The film and novel tell of the life of a courtesan (Umrao Jaan) who performs in the court of the last *nawab* (noble) of Lucknow, Wajid Ali Shah, before the first great struggle for independence in 1857, which led to the dissolution of the East India Company and India coming under direct British administrative rule.

The choice of *Umrao Jaan* as a theme for the gala was in itself a crafty bit of producing. Courtesans in 1850s Lucknow had a very high status and were prized as women of letters and art (dance, poetry and song). Young nobles would be sent to them to learn *adab o tahzeeb* (refinement and etiquette) as well as to learn the art of seduction and love. The re-creation of 1850s Lucknow through a promenade performance in which the good and the great of the expat and British Asian community were invited take part (in period costume) was a persuasive way of reasserting the importance and need for culture in hard times. The Lucknow of Wajid Ali Shah was also known, truly or falsely, for its licentiousness, and the character of *Umrao Jaan* became something of a metaphor for a nation that attracts exploitative suitors (Wikipedia, 2018b). Consequently, underlying the choice of this particular film was also a gentle critique of the patronage the company was seeking to attract, all the while giving the would-be modern-day aristocrats a beguiling experience. The performance also provides an apt metaphor for this thesis: *Umrao Jaan* is set in a time of great socio-economic and political change, a time when the kingdom of Oudh, the capital of which was Lucknow, lost its all-but-nominal autonomy by being annexed by the British.<sup>20</sup> The performance also gives substance to Kipling's garden: period costumes and jewellery were provided by designer boutiques to adorn a large team of performers and staff embodying the sumptuousness and splendour of pre-1857 Lucknow. This fantasy world in turn adorned the gardens and heritage property of the construction moguls and

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<sup>20</sup> A depiction of the supposed licentiousness of mid-century Lucknow as well as those particular historical events is found in Satyajit Ray's film *The Chessplayers* (1977), which is based on a short story by Premchand. My account, which is by no means that of a historian, draws primarily on these resources as well as my knowledge of the original film.

philanthropists. In exchange, the patrons of the evening promoted the art of Akademi as heritage that embodied a South Asian cultural quiddity that transcends the world of interest and money, and thus is just as worthy of support as religion or charity for the disenfranchised. As Mrs. Narula herself said, addressing the congregation: 'If there was no dance and no music, I would have died long ago' (ZeeTV, 2015). Art is nothing less than life itself. For this reason only, it deserves saving.

Fine sentiments for a fine night of nostalgic cultural entertainment made all the more delightful, according to another illustrious 'community' figure G.P. Hinduja, by the notable absence of the Indian political classes (ZeeTV, 2015). But all this refinement came at a hefty cost – economic, social and emotional – for the company. For the £9,000 raised on the evening, Akademi spent £25,000, which, for an organisation of its size, constitutes a considerable loss (ACE, 2017).<sup>21</sup> The report (2017) states that despite this loss, one of the benefits of the gala resided in the organisation's ability to raise its profile, which we should assume is synonymous with social capital that should be convertible into economic capital in the future. However, the report also states that the staff, most of whom were involved in the production, were drained by the experience and that the event distracted the company from delivering its core programme, although the match with the Narulas, as patrons, was good. Additionally, it is clear that the intangible benefits that Akademi has gained (profile, contacts) are less secure and will take more work to possibly convert into tangible benefits. For this reason, I conclude that Akademi embodies all too well the vulnerable eponymous character of the

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<sup>21</sup> Although I have not ascertained this, I assume that part of the loss, at least, was palliated through the programme.

film and novel it took inspiration from. The courtesan's most famous plea to her aristocratic patrons summarises something of Akademi's plight and the emotional labour performed in such circumstances:

What is a heart? Please take my life  
 Just this once, accept my word  
 You have return to this gathering again and again  
 So please acquaint yourself with the walls and doors of the house [...]  
 Asked kindly, I'll bring the sky down to earth  
 Nothing is difficult, if performed with resolve  
 (Ramay, 2012) [J.Y Pinder's translation].

The sacrifice of the talented but vulnerable courtesan has a wider resonance. While it does not use these terms, the ACE reports (2017, 2015) nonetheless suggest that anxiety and uncertainty about what the future holds have been widely felt in spite of the virtuoso acts of communication and the firm resolve shown by most. Being adaptive and resilient appears indeed to be a tiring business and in the long run it may well prove to be more sustainable for some than others with less resources to survive in this brave new order. Over-reliance on philanthropy, trusts and foundations, and the exhaustion produced by the imperatives to diversify streams of income, are all things that MMM and Robinson warned against. Given such very unequal results, they appear to have proved right.

In 2016, ACE launched *Catalyst: Evolve*, which was the second instalment of *Catalyst*. It also more recently launched a small grants programme. As part of the former, the sources of possible revenue have been expanded to include corporate sponsorship, which earlier programmes did not (ACE, 2018). I will not review

these here as the final evaluations have not been published. Instead I turn my attention to the training that supports the various resilience programmes, which will confirm a fact already emerging: building a more financially resilient field, like building a more environmentally sustainable one, does not come naturally like a garden flower. On the contrary, the path to resilience is paved by the juggernaut of the state and its social partners.<sup>22</sup>

### 2.4.2.3 Resilience training

The first £2 million training programme, which I will not discuss in detail here, was *Arts Fundraising & Philanthropy* (AFP). It ran in partnership with a number of organisations, including the University of Leeds. As part of the programme, 149 training sessions were hosted, which were attended by some 2,500 delegates. As part of the programme a fundraising fellowship scheme for 65 graduates was also launched (Walmsley and Harrop, 2016). Twenty-nine organisations took place in another, less-advertised pilot training scheme titled *Developing Cultural Sector Resilience*, which ran in 2014 and 2015 (ACE, 2015b). This pilot programme appears to have provided the template for ACE's most recent £2 million training programme being delivered by four external organisations each responsible for a different strand, including one dedicated to diversity and entrepreneurship, and another one dedicated to fundraising and revenue diversification (Boosting Resilience, 2017a).

These various training programmes provide opportunities to build skills for the 'new normal', as the tagline advertised on the website of one of these new training programmes, *Boosting Resilience*, suggests. However, from my perspective

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<sup>22</sup> The term has more recently become part of DCMS discourse as well (DCMS, 2016).



at least, these programmes can also be understood as forming part of the apparatus that produces the disciplines (mindsets, attitudes, etc.) by which the new normal becomes a norm. The countless evaluations of the various programmes provide a good example of the normative character of the training. Through the production of consensual narratives, any resistance to adopting an entrepreneurial approach, whether from the board or practitioners, tend to be shown in a negative light. In AFP's final report, we read that 'the arts sector has been slow to adopt innovative approaches and practices' (Walmsley and Harrop, 2016, p.7). A bit further along is the claim that 'whilst there are certainly nascent indications of a more entrepreneurial fundraising culture in the arts, alongside a desire to focus on individual giving, much more work remains to be done in these areas' (Walmsley and Harrop, 2016, p.14). Readers are told that 'this suggests that the arts sector needs another intervention such as the AFP programme more than ever' (Walmsley and Harrop, 2016, p.14). However, in the report it is concluded that despite the understanding that the field remains slow on the uptake, 'arts fundraising is developing and maturing as both a professional practice and an emerging academic discipline, and it is slowly challenging pernicious perceptions of commercialism, illegitimacy and amateurism' (Walmsley and Harrop, 2016, p.13). Here, a discrepancy still structures the discourse and cultural value as an alternative still features (money for value is what such fundraising practices aim to produce), but the terms have been inverted in a not dissimilar fashion to how they were inverted in MMM's work. Such evaluations, which may not reflect the views of their authors, also make palpable an institutional anxiety about the willingness of the sector to 'adapt', which may not come naturally to many. I now discuss two residential workshops from Culture Capital Exchange's training *Boosting Resilience*, which is ongoing and for which the online documentation is extensive,

in order to understand some of these points of tension and stress as well as to continue the investigation into resilience understood in terms of the logics of 'culture-as-resource'.

These workshops were not focused on fundraising but instead were dedicated to expanding the participants' thinking about the use of their organisational assets, a problem that returns my analysis to MMM territory. One session, delivered by Andrew Towell, explored the relation between the exploitation of assets and innovation. Towell defines innovation as the production of a novelty that adds social and economic value to the field by being replicable and producing impact through dissemination (Boosting Resilience, 2017b). Towell is sensitive to the fact that culture is not driven by profit. Nevertheless, the end goal of the session is to explore how innovation in the arts and culture could be turned into profit. Thus, his presentation discusses the processes by which a product or asset can be thought of as controllable (via legal means such as copyright or intellectual property rights (IP)) and replicable. He also explores how tangible or intangible products can be abstracted and separated off from other products or structures in order to be turned into assets, which might range from organisational data about audiences (ticketed and non-ticketed) and their reactions to particular shows, to a piece of choreography or even a collection of images (Boosting Resilience, 2017b).

This short list makes clear that the locus of value production in these instances is not labour as conventionally understood. Rather, economic value is here produced by a 'non-productive' form of work (choreography or audience data, for example) being captured, exploited and rented out. Or it is produced by a collection of images, which, combined with a certain kind of expertise and brand (say that of the Royal Shakespeare Company), produces a heritage collection in the

form of a collective memory. In this way, assets are shown to consist of bundles of elements that form a new exploitable unit. If these innovations have a large impact, they can, following the principle of creative destruction, revolutionise an entire field. For this reason, it is also necessary to have situational awareness, which facilitates where possible the transference or what Towell terms the 'stealing' of other people's innovations (Boosting Resilience, 2017b).

This discussion shows in a very concrete way how resilience, via the notion of asset, names the realignment of cultural production to the profit motive by way of state-funded programmes. Other evidence from the session points towards this. The session finished with a collective exercise in which participants were asked to write rapid-fire responses to a number of incomplete sentences such as 'Money is...', 'Profit is...' and 'Exploitation is...'. The three people whom he picked came back with responses that illustrate the morality of improvement in action: 'Exploitation is rife', then 'Exploitation is sensible', then 'Exploitation is not a dirty word'. After a discussion during which the meanings of the term 'exploitation' were discussed and contested, the facilitator concluded that, while the British are aware of the cognitive dissonance between industry and culture, they are more capable of working around and with it. In contrast, he stated that in certain cultural and artistic contexts in Brazil, for instance, saying cultural entrepreneur or creative industries is as strange as saying 'banana and dinosaur' (Boosting Resilience, 2017b). I cannot vouch for the veracity of such a statement. Rather, what interests me here is what this statement says about resilience training in the UK. To understand this, I finish with my account: in response, one of the participants underlined how this may be the case among the elite but not among the Brazilian working classes who more readily exploit their assets to survive. In effect, the people Towell mixed with in Brazil were university-based and ran a

local theatre for which they had not been paid for six months. This would make one think that they might have wanted to embrace a more entrepreneurial approach to solve their cash flow problems. Although not stated explicitly, the exchange could be taken to imply that the privileged classes should challenge their privilege by taking a leaf from the book of struggling favela dwellers, resilient subjects if ever there are any. The difference, of course, is that Towell was speaking to a room of representatives from established and often large organisations (including *Catalyst* Tier 1 organisations) about IP and so-called high-growth cultural enterprise, not street-side vending (Boosting Resilience, 2017b). This sleight of hand by which a discussion of class distinctions in an elsewhere far from Britain are used implicitly to legitimate a cultural shift in Britain appears to belie an anxiety about dissensus within the assembly of people gathered in the room, a few of which – judging by the discussion of the term ‘exploitation’ – may well identify with the overly committed Brazilian theatre amateurs and managers. The comparison also suggests that the subsumption of culture relies on and produces what Tomba (2012) identifies as a contemporary form of uneven development, without which the production of competitive advantage, the production or stealing of innovation within, and its transference between sectors, places and even nations (Brazil–Britain) would be impossible. These inequalities are visible geographically in the north–south divide in the UK (Teeside and the North-East are certainly not the British Isle’s version of the Chile of Pinochet but they remain one of the historical laboratories of neoliberal reform as well as one of the incubators of the ‘jargon of authenticity’), as well as the divide between the metropolitan centre and the peripheries, the city and the country. However, this uneven development is also reflected discursively in how the field of culture in the UK appears at the vanguard of global entrepreneurial innovation – not only surviving the shocks of

modernity but also resiliently running ahead of them – while also lagging behind its own development – never quite innovative, entrepreneurial and developed enough. In fact, this allochronic pattern bears some similarity to what I encountered in Camden: an image of a flooded countryside field as metaphor for community emergency but also failed community development at the heart of King's Cross, now one of the most 'developed' areas of the capital.

Going back to the discussion of the training, I would argue that it is possible to view this development or lack of in linear, not to say Darwinian and evolutionist, terms. The arts and culture would then appear to be handicapped by their own anachronistic and obdurate superstitions dating back, it is presumed, to an almost forgotten pre-Thatcher era. It is my view, however, that these anachronisms, these multiple, coeval temporalities of social experience need not be presented linearly in the first place. Rather, temporal linearity and the philosophies of evolution that this linearity implies play a role in the legitimization of processes of internal colonisation repackaged as development and innovation. I turn to the writing of Harootunian (2007) which, as with the reference to Tomba's work above, might jar somewhat with the subject at hand. Nevertheless, his work provides a useful commentary on the spatio-temporal structure being discussed in terms that are also germane to the language of my thesis. He writes:

Capitalism has always been suffused with remainders of other, prior modes of production and that the incidence of what Marx described as formal subsumption—the partial subordination of labor to capital—would continue to coexist with the process of real subsumption and the final achievement of the commodity form, until the last instance. [...] It is this specter—in the figure of noncontemporaneous contemporaneity—that has come back to haunt the

present in the incarnate form of explosive fundamentalisms fusing the archaic and the modern, the past and the present, recalling for us historical déjà vu and welding together different modes of existence aimed at overcoming the unevenness of lives endlessly reproduced (Harootunian, 2007, p.475).

No religious fanaticism present in ACE-provided resilience training. However, my next analysis suggests that the figure of non-contemporaneous contemporaneity recurs in a different yet no less relevant guise. In a session that aimed to introduce IP to participants, the artist Nadia Anne Ricketts discussed how she developed a company that produces woven textiles out of music, which is translated into a unique set of patterns using bespoke software (Boosting Resilience, 2017c). The textiles that Ricketts makes are a perfect example of the allochronic synchronicity of experience mentioned above. Her practice weaves together the loom and digital software, the skill of handicraft and the expertise of the knowledge economy, the cottage industry and the creative economy, culture and the 21st-century digital industry. However, the account of her work suggests that, while this development and innovation appears to have silver linings, it is far from seamless. Ricketts states that she pays herself a wage from her business (it is not clear how much). However, she confesses, when asked about resilience and whether she can make a living from her business, that it took her three or four years to start seeing some financial benefit. While her practice is inspiring and appears to be a success, it is also legitimate to ask how many such cases of success, if success it is, there are in comparison to what may be called, after the title of one of Greg Sholette's books (2010), 'dark matter', so-called failed artists who cannot make or barely make a living in the brave new world of the creative industries. How do the weavers of the digital age, who appear successful, manage to palliate the hefty costs of starting in

business? This does not appear to have been discussed in the presentation.

However, I assume that she either received support from elsewhere (savings, partners, parents etc.) or that she worked several (precarious) jobs at the same time (and maybe still does). I do not want to take anything away from her achievements. However, her account shows that subsumption is not synonymous with seamless development and progress (Boosting Resilience, 2017c).

To summarise the spirit of this discussion, I finish with an account of what one of the organisations delivering the current training calls, in one of its online modules, ‘aggressive marketing’ (Arts Manager International, 2017). According to the president of Arts Manager International, Brett Egan, aggressive marketing is made up of programmatic and institutional marketing. The latter consists in persuading potential audiences that your organisation has a value beyond specific productions. The results of aggressive marketing are, according to the theory, attractive for any organisation: it produces a ‘family’ (Arts Manager International, 2017), that is, a group of people who will buy into your organisation and provide a source of economic support (potential members, donors, etc.). This idea, probably as old as marketing itself, appears to be another variant of the idea developed by MMM that social capital should be convertible into economic capital, audiences into donors, if you try hard enough and use the right strategies. However metaphoric, the idea that aggressive marketing produces families, and that your family, like your flat or spare room, can provide the means to increase your income, suggests yet again that we live in an economy in which the boundaries between reproduction and production are blurring and being renegotiated. Resilience training, then, appears to provide the means to harness this renegotiation and make the most of it.

Given aggressive marketing's particularly evocative name, it is also tempting in conclusion to revive the old Freudian (1958) culturalist thesis by which the refinement of culture and civilisation is understood to provide the means to sublimate and contain the aggressive, uncivil drives of the individual. The malaise and discontents of civilization, however, appear today to be quite the reverse: the aggressive capitalist drive is not to be contained by the institution but, instead, unleashed in order to produce a new form of a sociality that realises the value of culture. The old welfarist and paternalist motto of money for value and the new post-crisis rendition of the same motto mediated by 40 years of new management practice remain syntactically the same, but, semantically, they could not be more different.

### **2.4.3 Alternative resiliences in the administration of culture**

#### **2.4.3.1 Live Art philanthropy**

In the last leg of the analysis, which may well be the chapter's test of resilience for the reader, I formally establish the possibility of alternative resilience practices, and in doing so start to investigate more fully question Q.2c.

These last sub-sections also need to be included in this chapter as they bring together the various elements of the discussion elaborated thus far. This discussion will also build on the preceding discussion of training in order to analyse how culture's internal colonisation has also fed forms of resistances, which problematise the ambivalent socialisation of risk that resilience discourses and practices partake in. This will lead me to the thesis that resilience in culture is directly related to the reproduction of extremes of violence and incivility that are not possible to socialise and embed so easily, which I will explore through the idea of civility.



The case in question is a Tier 3 consortium made up of Arts Admin (AA), Home Live Art (HLA) and Live Art Development Agency (LADA). These three organisations are considerably different in both size and *raison d'être*. However, they all hold in common a shared interest in Live Art and experimental performance practices. Their experiments with fundraising are the first element worth discussing. Like Akademi's art, these experiments reproduce the logics of resilience understood in terms of culture-as-resource. However, many of their experiments combined what ACE probably considers to be success with a healthy dose of critical suspicion, if not reluctance, towards the programme in which they were participating. For example, HLA produced, in collaboration with the artist Richard DeDomenici, a Live Art Aid crowdfunding campaign in which DeDomenici and a host of UK-based live artists re-created the video for the famous song *We are the World* (DeDomenici, 2015). The original composition was written in 1985 by Lionel Richie and Michael Jackson for Live Aid Africa in support of the efforts to alleviate the famine in Ethiopia (Kamikatze07, 2008). The song was performed in a studio context by a stellar ensemble of US-based singers. The re-creation of the famous video subverted its form and included the following verses:

Don't want to have to move to Eastern Europe yet  
 But five years of austerity scars me  
 Our artist studios are being turned into luxury flats  
 Every neighbourhood we touch, we gentrify  
 Nurses are crucial, we agree  
 Government-led dichotomies  
 Cruel Britannia, cultural cold spots  
 Growing inside our hearts  
 It's not easy to plan ahead

When you can't write a business plan

Narcissistic Personality Disorder

Tricky to manage when you're dyslexic

(DeDomenici, 2015).

Then the refrain and key message:

Save Live Art

This once-thriving sector is now submerging

But we can change this with your urging

(DeDomenici, 2015).

The small-scale campaign was significantly less successful than the original Live Aid appeal. Nevertheless, its virtue resided in the manner in which the project, which otherwise exemplifies the logics of 'culture-as-resource', turned an experiment in fundraising into a critical commentary on the subsumption of culture in which the terms of the discussion about development presented earlier reappear. Here, the artists represent both periphery and centre, 'third-world' starving cultural workers and 'first-world' megastars of the information and creative industries, which the artists in a very British Live Art kind of way fail to embody.

The consortium did not merely produce ironic critiques of the entrepreneurial fundraising imperatives that suggest, once again, that cross-cultural policy transferral from the US is a more complicated affair than both Hunt and Dr. Egan would have wished for. The consortium also produced very successful fundraising events, which were supported by the organisation's own community of interest, including Live Art fans, artists, cultural workers and

educators. LADA, for instance, organised a fundraising gala for its 15th anniversary at the Vauxhall Tavern, a gay venue located south of Vauxhall bridge in London. In comparison to the Grade II-listed Hertfordshire mansions of Indian construction moguls, the choice of the less salubrious Grade II-listed gay haunt, which is famous for its cabaret club nights, was reflective of the orientation of the constituencies of an organisation dedicated to the development of art that is often socially and politically committed. The fundraiser did very well thanks to the tombola and auction at which memorabilia from live performances were sold (Paterson, 2015). Through such an event, LADA did indeed manage to turn its social capital and connections into economic capital by selling objects (material assets) belonging to a long list of world-famous and established artists. However, it managed to do so while remaining true to its constituencies, identity and values, as Robinson (2010) appears to advocate. The gala did not downplay the company's anti-establishment critique, suggesting that a healthy suspicion of commercialism and amateur auctioneering can paradoxically go a long way in fundraising. The general spirit of community and contestation was summarised by the host of the evening, drag performance artist David Hoyle:

The government and the Arts Council of England want us to reach out to the rich (pause) so that they will save our culture... (laughs). I'm going to leave that with you... (LADA-Live Online, 2014).

Which led to the question:

And then why would a rich person want to pay for art that is all about their demise? (LADA-Live Online, 2014).

This commentary was complemented by fundraising appeals from the compere and other artists that would have made the proponents of aggressive marketing appear as masters of understatement. After reminding his audience that life is not eternal, Hoyle ordered that the audience rewrite their wills in order to make LADA the benefactor of their legacies. This was topped by the petite Hawaiian performance artist Stacey Makishi drawing the following conclusion after being swept off her feet by a French-kissing green-leaved cabbage:

Nature is just not natural

Unless your produce can reproduce

Thank you... and give generously to these guys

(Pleading) Please, you fuckers...

(Stamping her foot) GIVE US ALL YOUR MONEY!!!

(Leaving the stage) Thank you... Thank you...

(LADA-Live Online, 2014).

The fundraising tour de force, however, came with the *Arthole Cockle Medal for Live Art Philanthropy* (2015), created by the artist Joshua Sofaer, the auctioneer on the night of the gala. Instead of acting as a respondent evaluator to LADA's project, Sofaer decided to see if he could raise money for a difficult-to-fund £10,000 artist award with no pressure of outcomes. For this, he took a trip to Cabourg in Normandy, where he found the bit of coastline that provided the model for the beach in Proust's *In Search of Lost Time*, which, among other things, depicts with a comic panache the hypocrisy, pretentiousness, dishonesty and greed of the *belle époque* bourgeoisie. Proust was not part of the Bloomsbury set. However, as Anderson (2018) has recently restated, he was a late French romantic who lived at

end of a century inaugurated with Chateaubriand (and prefigured by Rousseau), whose life as an artist was subsidised by private wealth and inheritance. In the last volume of his famous work, the following statement about art can be found that translates in lyrical Proustian prose something of the cultural rationale underpinning Hoyle's legacy appeals just as much as the cult of art promulgated by the eldest of the Schlegel sisters and Mrs. Narula:

The cruel law of art is that people die and we ourselves die after exhausting every form of suffering, so that over our heads may grow the grass not of oblivion but of eternal life, the vigorous and luxuriant growth of a true work of art, and so that thither, gaily and without thought for those who are sleeping beneath them, future generations may come to enjoy their *déjeuner sur l'herbe* (Proust, 2010, p.438).

Making Proust into his muse, Sofaer came back with a cockle shell that he cast in bronze three times. Two of the casts were plated in silver and gold. Together, the three casts made up the arthole cockle medals, a sexual wordplay that also alludes to the funding hole created by the financial cuts. The medals were worth £5,000, £3,000 and £2,000 for gold, silver and bronze, respectively. The plan was to invite individual donors to dinner at Sofaer's home in order to present a case for supporting Live Art. Gary Carter, a television executive known to LADA, was the first prospect to be hosted by the artist and chef Daniel Wichett. Carter ended up giving £10,000 for the gold award and made the suggestion that this be made into an annual endeavour for which the patron, artist and chef should name candidates to take over the process the next year. The two other medals were duly cast back whence they came, at the Thames estuary (Sofaer, 2018).

Other experiments in administration (live) art would be worth exploring at length, including Scottee's *Double Your Money* (2015), for which the artist bought £1,000 worth of lottery tickets to see if he could win the jackpot for LADA. Or even Kim Noble, who mobilised what Sarah Jane Bailes (2011) identifies as an anti-capitalist aesthetics of failure to make his cute but clueless snot-eating son star in a rather underwhelming crowdfunding video (LADA, 2014a). Without exhausting this discussion, it is nevertheless possible to conclude that LADA and the consortium embodied something of the definition of resilience advanced by Robinson (2010). By doing so, their work may not appear to be alternative at all. While this may be the case, I would argue that they nevertheless responded to the injunction to adapt by retaining what the magazine *Mute* called 'genuine diversity and antagonism' (van Mourik Broekman, 2011, no pagination).<sup>23</sup>

The last section of this chapter aims to extend the analysis to the research the consortium conducted on money and the ethics of fundraising in culture. This analysis will also provide the opportunity to tie discussions of ecology and economy together as the former was largely absent from *Catalyst*-related programmes except as a metaphoric language glorifying the garden of new resource management. This section will raise the stakes of the analysis by showing how capital embedded by the corporate welfare state also appears, as in its historical beginnings described by Marx (1990), 'dripping from head to toe, from every pore, with blood and dirt' (p.926). This blood and dirt will be shown to do, unfortunately, worse things than make the life of struggling weavers harder or even blemish the face of culture.

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<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that Arts Admin, which produced its own fundraising art, also collaborated with Towell on audience research (Boosting Resilience, 2017b).

#### 2.4.3.2 Building resilience and the (in)civilities of culture

I am sitting in a darkened Toynbee Hall at AA in East London during *Take the Money and Run? (TTMR)* (LADA, Arts Admin, Home Live Art and Platform, 2015).

The event is the finale of a three-year research programme that the consortium ran on money in the arts. I am listening to CJ Mitchell, co-director of LADA. He is standing at a lectern speaking about the consortium's research into ethical policies for fundraising. The consortium wanted to ensure that its approach to fundraising would be aligned to its respective 'mission' and 'values' (Mitchell, 2015, p.2).

Mitchell acknowledges the complexity of assessing whether the aims of a given trust, company or individual are at all compatible with those of the organisation.

Despite this difficulty, he recounts how LADA decided that it would not receive any funding from organisations directly involved with 'animal testing'; 'the fur trade'; 'fossil fuels or petrochemicals which damage the environment'; 'human rights abuses'; 'manufacture of hazardous products or chemicals'; 'military contracts'; 'ozone depleting chemical production'; and 'tobacco' (LADA, 2014b, p.1).

The process of devising ethical policies for fundraising was deemed important as it is widely accepted that there are certain reputational and business benefits that come from being associated with cultural brands (hence their importance as an asset to cultural organisations). Donors receive symbolic (reputation and status) and social (networks and relations) capital in exchange of economic capital given to arts organisations. Wu (2002) claims, on the basis of her own and other data, that:

At variance with orthodox management theory, according to which senior management's involvement should increase or decrease in proportion to the relative scale of expenditure, top managers take a disproportionate interest in

arts sponsorship, regardless of the small sums involved in relation to a company's annual budget (2002, p.31).

As Wu (2002) explains, an association with art provides top executives with a sense of distinction, an aura of exclusivity that marks them out as elite. It also provides the means to reproduce their elite circles, a social trend that Bourdieu, with artist Hans Haacke, explores in *Free Exchange* (1995). Corporate brand management through an association with culture is all the more necessary for oil or arms corporations, for instance, which maintain a favourable business environment by upholding what in marketing jargon is called a 'social license to operate' (Boutilier et al., 2011, p.2). A social license to operate has, according to its theorists, four levels. The lowest, which poses the highest risk for a company, is when the social license is 'withdrawn', that is, when the company does not have public acceptability (Boutilier et al., 2011, p.2). The other three levels are 'acceptability', 'approval' and 'psychological identification', which implies trust (Boutilier et al., 2011, p.2). This license is crucial for arms companies directly involved in the manufacturing of global warfare or the petro-chemical industries, which, as the journalist Duncan Clark (2013) has recently reiterated, are historically responsible for the production of a majority of greenhouse gases. A social license is all the more necessary when any of these companies are faced with a crisis, such as Deepwater Horizon, which, according to the CEO of British Petroleum (BP), brought the company within three days of bankruptcy (Hughes and Marriott, 2015). It is for this reason that companies such as BP or Shell have sponsored and still sponsor major institutions such as the Tate, the British Museum, the National Portrait Gallery and the Royal Shakespeare Company (Evans, 2015; Trowell, 2013).



This social phenomenon, the objective mechanism of which I have just described, replicates the logics of ‘culture-as-resource’ (culture as resource for the management of brands). However, as this preliminary discussion suggests, the logics of ‘culture-as-resource’ do not announce the waning of Bourdieusian distinction, as Yúdice (2003) claimed. This re-confirms a point first made a number of times now that the expedient rationality of resilience is made up of a unity of contraries, which includes a deeply ambivalent ideological supplement (culture), which makes culture attractive to corporate sponsors in need of legitimacy and which makes more tolerable the destruction and violence linked to processes of subsumption. It is the ambivalence of this ideal that the ethical policies of the consortium aimed to grapple with and that I propose to explore more deeply through the concept of civility.

As the discussion above intimates, the question of violence and its extremes is particularly relevant to the discussion of private investment and corporate sponsorship. The notion of civility, however, may require some further explanation. In *Violence and Civility* (2015), Balibar defines civility as: ‘the whole set of political strategies [...] that respond to the fact that violence, in its various forms, exceeds normality’ (2015, p.65). Thus, practices of civility can be understood as practices of anti-violence in a contemporary, globalised world characterised by the existence of extremes of violence and domination. More specifically, practices of anti-violence or civility respond to extremes of violence in order to displace or limit these. Balibar identifies a number of strategies of civility, including hegemonic (liberal-pluralist) strategies as well as revolutionary (majoritarian) ones. In both of these, the institutions of civil society are key to the elaboration of strategies of civility as the former are at the centre of the socio-political reproduction of violence and provide sites wherein an ‘internal response’

to or 'displacement' of violence can be produced (Balibar, 2015, p.22). In this vein, the research and work that the consortium produced is concerned, in part at least, with responding to the role that cultural institutions play in the reproduction of extremes of violence and injustice, which are 'inconvertible', that is, which resists socialisation (Balibar, 2015, p.63). The sad irony, of course, is that these ethical policies come as a supplement to governmental practices, which aim to socialise the violence of the cuts, but which also indirectly partake in the reproduction of other kinds of violence.

It is worth unpacking Balibar's analysis of extreme violence in order to understand further how these policies relate to the question of 'extremes'. According to Balibar's analysis, there are two poles of extreme violence: 'ultrasubjective' and 'ultraobjective' (2015, p.52). Subjective violence 'requires that individuals and groups be represented as incarnations of evil, [...] that threaten the subject from within and have to be eliminated at all costs' (Balibar, 2015, p.52). Subjective forms of violence include various forms of racism, acts of mass murder, extermination and genocides but also patriarchal and state violence (Balibar, 2015, p.76). Objective violence causes human beings to be turned into 'things or useless remnants' (Balibar, 2015, p.52). It includes phenomena as diverse as economic exploitation and ecological disasters that are often naturalised despite their various social causes. Balibar argues that subjective/objective forms of violence, which very often reinforce each other, are produced by different kinds of practices that find a unity in history. He names the passage between the two extremes of violence 'cruelty' (Balibar, 2015, p.53). Racism, for example, could be considered as paradigmatic of this oscillation, so could the destruction and violence of the petro-chemical industry. No less than a normalised kind of civilisational wreckage, this violence is economic and ecological (spoliation of nature and human habitats,

over-exploitation of natural and human ‘resources’) but also subjective in character: global warming is tied to a structural kind of environmental racism, which makes poorer populations and non-white peoples living in the economic peripheries of the global order or in the economic peripheries of the Global North the first victims (Evans, 2015).

Social anthropologists as well as the performance scholars such as Richard Schechner (2003) have shown that so-called traditional societies had and still have a more acute consciousness of the inconvertibility of certain forms of social violence, which these societies regulate or sublimate through various forms of ritual (carnival being one that is common to so-called modern societies as well). Although very different to traditional rituals or rites of passage, ethical fundraising policies could be understood as what Bourdieu (1991, p.117) might have called performative ‘rites of institution’ through which the organisations in question define their institutional identities and produce a form of symbolic ordering and distancing that takes the violence of its own institutions as object of reflection and practice. At first glance, then, the ethical policies appear as another way of limiting the violence brought about by reinforcement of the power and legitimacy of private corporations.<sup>24</sup> This process appears to mobilise familiar cultural ideals, notably through the reassertion of an ideal best self, an Arnoldian notion, which, according to Lloyd and Thomas (1998), denotes a humanist dis-interestedness of judgement that should be counterposed to the ordinary self that represents particularist and antagonistic interests. The name of this best self is, in this case,

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<sup>24</sup> I am by no means suggesting that paternalist welfarism is not problematic. It is.

However, it remains historically tied to real social and public gains (Beech, 2015). As much cannot be said of its historical privatisation.

ethics. The mention of ethics and best selves gives me the opportunity to relate the notion of civility to that of culture more directly in order to locate the ambivalence of the particular conception of civility presented here.

Lloyd and Thomas (1998) argue that the institutions of culture, as repositories of alternative values dedicated to the development and educational upliftment of the population (*Bildung*, a German term that binds the notions of culture and self-development (Beiser, 2006)), occupy a key 'space between the individual and the state' in the formation of 'the citizen as ethical "best self"' (Lloyd and Thomas, 1998, p.10). Through cultural and aesthetic education, the citizen-subject learns to abandon their partial interests by developing the capacity for 'disinterested reflection' that finds its fulfilment in an identification with and integration in the representative institutions of the state, which have an essentially normative function (Lloyd and Thomas, 1998, p.147).

Lloyd and Thomas' (1998) theorisation of the state and culture, which describes how both play a fundamental role in embedding capitalist economic relations, overlaps with what Balibar names the 'hegemonic strategy' of civility (2015, p.107). Balibar finds the model of this strategy in Hegel's theory of the state (developed in *The Philosophy of Right*) and his notion of *Sittlichkeit*, sometimes translated as ethical life or ethiccity but which Lloyd and Thomas call the 'ethical state' (1998, p.115). In this liberal theory, according to Balibar, conflicts and contradictions internal to society are to be resolved through a play of identifications and disidentifications that is set in motion between the various differentiated but interdependent sections of society (family-civil society-state). These conflicts are ultimately mediated and reconciled in the institution and universality of the state, which transcends the particularistic interests of each (civil society and market relations/family and kinship) while bestowing

recognition on these through what Lloyd and Thomas call the 'educing' (development and realisation) of citizens (1998, p.7). In turn the state finds in civil society and the family its own ground or subjective embodiment by which its power becomes a kind of *habitus* or 'second nature'.<sup>25</sup>

Contrary to the initial assessment, the ethical policies of the consortium, then, can be understood as having an embedding and reconciling role, the success of which relies on a play of collective (organisational and institutional) and individual processes of identification and disidentification with the state institutions of culture but also civil society, including transnational private actors such as philanthropists, and corporations. In this light, the policies appear to be fundamentally ambivalent. For, on the one hand, they appear to mobilise a residual kind of welfarism, not unlike that of Holden's, to contest and probe the power of particular corporate interests. In doing so they also probe the collective predicament of a cultural field turned into a collective avatar of the *Good Person of Szechewan* (1994) dramatised by Brecht: a young prostitute who strives to live a good moral life but finds herself obliged to invent an alter-ego to protect her (selfish) interest. On the other hand, it could be argued that the ethical policies produce the same kind of reconciled or 'well-tempered' subjectivity that blends the ethics and values of the institutions of culture and the state with an ever more dominant economic rationality (Miller, 1993, p.ix).

During the final event of *TTMR*, Jane Trowell, who is one of the people who helped the organisations from the consortium develop their ethical policies and

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<sup>25</sup> The role of *Bildung* is not really discussed at any great length in Balibar's (2015) exegesis of Hegel's work. However, a discussion of its place in the Hegelian theory of *Sittlichkeit* can be found in Lefebvre and Macherey (1984).

thinking about ethics, facilitated an exercise on stage that illustrates something of this ambivalence through actual practice. I will not discuss it in detail. However, it is interesting to mention as the apparatus of the theatre will give materiality to a discussion of the processes of representation through which the social individual is educated into the ethical state (LADA, Arts Admin, Home Live Art and Platform, 2015). Toynbee Studios and its theatre was all the more symbolically suited for this exercise as the building was established in the early 1880s by reformers who were pioneers of the settlement movement. The goal of the movement was to bring the rich and the Mr. and Mrs. Basts of this world closer together through the alleviation of poverty but also through education and the imparting of knowledge and culture by volunteer Oxford and Cambridge students (Wikipedia, 2018c).

For the exercise, participants from the audience were invited on stage to decide whether and explain why they would accept or not money from various trusts and foundations as well as companies. The aim was to provide the space in which one could debate and examine one's assumptions about different trusts, foundations and corporations, and understand which of these might be compatible or in contradiction with our own organisational and cultural values. However, in the Q & A that took place afterwards, one audience member underlined, as I have been doing, that the exercise appeared to mediate the political imperative of embracing private investment in the arts. Another audience member raised a number of questions relating to the definitions of ethics being used (ArtsAdminUK, 2015). The performance of ethics staged in the hall appeared to be overly pragmatic. Instead of being conceived in universal terms, ethics was being conceived of in relativistic terms, as an ecosystem of different social and organisational values, the plurality of which guaranteed the functioning and

resilience of the whole sector, in a manner that is reminiscent of Holden's discourse.

I conclude, for my part, that the problematic ambivalence lays partly in a culturalist conception of 'ethics'. I found confirmation of the culturalist character of this ambivalence in Monbiot's (2013) reflections on disinvestment for which the author draws on the figure of Julien Benda, the early 20<sup>th</sup> century French intellectual who wrote *The Treason of the Intellectuals* (2006). In this work, which is, according to Mulhern (2000), a French variant of *kultur kritik*, Benda condemns the intellectuals of his time for ceasing to provide a moral and ethical check on political domination, self-interest and the populist passions of the masses. However, what Monbiot does not say is that in Benda's universalist conception of the disinterested intellectual, protector of 'the ideal', renounces 'all individual or group self-assertion' or passionate group commitment (Mulhern, 2000, p.8). In other words, while it may be universalist, it is also a profoundly unpolitical ideal. While I am not saying this is the ideal Trowell and the consortium aspire to, I have little doubt that their conception of civility and ethics carries some of its ambivalences.

The previous analysis, however, needs to be immediately complicated by returning to the question of conflict which, I will argue, is not reducible to a question of ethics within the context of the event discussed or the wider research programme. For, while reconciliation with infrastructural changes brought about by the cuts was one of the objective functions of the consortium's research programme and ethical policies, it was by no means its only function or aim. This alternative training within a less assured society (to invert Williams' definition of civility quoted in the introduction) very often presented the institution of culture and the state to be in conflict with economic imperatives. This fact, which I will

explore further through a final account of the final event of the programme, complicates the direct relation of identification that Lloyd and Thomas (1998) establish between the disinterested-cum ethical realm of culture and the political rationales of the representative liberal state. The programme, on the contrary, suggests that something is awry in process of 'educing' and self-development. Passionate conflicts do in fact exist on the plane of culture from where the subject emerges into self-consciousness, conflicts which are not as easily resolvable as Lloyd and Thomas suggest. Interestingly, these conflicts have been produced by the very same institutional and political injunctions to adapt or perish that legitimise and effect subsumption. However, the maladapted and not so well-tempered subjects of the institution summoned by the super-egoic injunction of the state to follow and fulfil the new norm do not appear to be animated anymore by a desire to adapt but rather by a desire to subvert the institution as it exists. Crucially, this discontent stems from the perceived violence of new state-sanctioned incivilities, which suggests that it is not 'recognition' of particular interests or identities from the state that concerns these citizen-subjects but justice, a topic to which I now turn.

This process of disidentification was visible during the finale event, which was used by Platform as an exercise in building consensus around the issues of oil sponsorship in the arts, as part of a wider campaign whose prime site was, in fact, not the institutions of the state but social movements, or what Balibar also names 'majoritarian' movements (2015, p.115). The event had the virtue of going beyond a discussion of sectorial interests and 'ethics' in order to present how the subsumption of culture at home is not only connected to the reproduction of extremes of violence but also to transnational struggles against injustice. Selina Nwulu, commissioned by Tipping Point, recalls the destruction of the Niger delta



caused by oil extraction supported by London based cultural organisations in the following words:

Home is a hostile lover  
 Remember when our delta waters were clean  
 How we washed our faces in rivers  
 How we chased fish with our bare hands  
 Before Delta had its throat slit  
 And bled its oily pipes into soil  
 How we hummed words into water  
 And it would laugh and sing back  
 (Rupiah, 2015).

Poets, speakers and groups from the Art Not Oil coalition took the stage to explore the socio-political, ecological and economic issues tied to sponsorship beyond its Nigerian context. Ackroyd and Harvey gave a talk about pulling out of an exhibition about species extinction sponsored by members of the Azeri oil oligarchy.

Journalist Rachel Spence also spoke about Gulf Labour, a campaign fighting against the contemporary use of indentured labour for the construction of the new cultural infrastructure in the Gulf. Eriel Deranger, the chief executive of Indigenous Climate Action in Canada, contributed remotely to the event. Indigenous Climate Action is an indigenous-led organisation that works towards climate justice, notably for communities in Alberta directly affected by the exploitation of the tar sands situated on indigenous territory (Indigenous Climate Action). As well as spelling certain catastrophe for humanity and life as a whole, if exploited durably, the extraction of tar sand crude, which critics view as a form of resource colonisation (Parson and Ray, 2016), has had already an overwhelmingly destructive impact on

the health of humans, aquatic species and wildlife in Alberta (LADA, Arts Admin, Home Live Art and Platform, 2015).

The event provided the occasion to bring together some of the different socio-historical and political experiences that make up our capitalist present, which despite seeming disparate are in fact interconnected. Figuring this historical totality through fragments of film montages, skype video talks, images, live discussions and debates was a way of presenting how different forms of destructive development, but also political oppression, are interconnected and reinforce each other, while also creating a momentary space for figuring common points of struggle. In this way, the talks also focused on how culture can be, if not always a politicised resource for social movements, at least aligned to these movements in order to stop the reproduction of extremes of violence. The pastiche Shakespearean verse spoken on stage by one of the female bards from the group BP or Not BP? summarises the anti-affirmative structure of thought and feeling:

What country, friends, is this  
Where the words of our most prized poet  
Can be bought to beautify  
A patron as unnatural as British Petroleum?  
(ArtsAdminUK, 2015).

The discussions were not limited to the question of oil sponsorship. Jen Harvie held a talk about the cuts and political alternatives to it (a new 'new deal' for culture). Clara Pallard also spoke as a representative for the union PCS, whose members were about to go on a 100-day strike at the National Gallery in order to oppose the privatisation of visitor services. The audience also heard about the

boycott of the Sydney Biennale, which was funded by Transfield Holdings, a contractor for Australia's network of immigration detention centres. Finally, the stage played host to artist and critic Dave Beech who questioned the limitations of single-issue boycotts of biennales or organisations. In his provocation, he questioned the value of boycotts conducted on the basis of single-issue campaigns (environmental, humanitarian, etc.). Beech asserted that the idea of ethical sponsorship appears to (falsely) suggest that some money might be clean and other money dirty, some money ethical and other money unethical. Instead, what should be opposed is privatisation as such (ArtsAdminUK, 2015; LADA, Arts Admin, Home Live Art and Platform, 2015).

Without wanting to romanticise or over inflate the importance of these moments of gathering and debate, the event can nevertheless be understood to have brought together actors that personify the means through which social movements aim, through diverse means, to resist and transform the violence of globalised capitalism. In this sense, the event and wider rationale guiding the research programme was not only ethical, it was politicised. It was guided by the question of value as way of life or organisation. However, elements of the programmes were concerned with how to re-work 'value as demand' in order to politicise 'practices of identity and representation, the patternings of affinity and aversion that make up cultural complexes' (Mulhern, 2002, p.103).

There is no place to unpick the ambivalences of each of these means of political organisation and demands, which can also be understood to sustain capitalism just as much as challenge it, as Beech's provocation underlines. Instead, I would like to argue that the event during which the incivility of culture was be probed and alternatives momentarily explored, constituted something like a micro-space of civility. It was a theatrical space that staged the potentials as well as

the contradictions and limitations of alternatives to cruelty that cultural institutions and social movements, in their different ways, have a hand in reproducing. In doing so, the event and the wider programme, despite its ambivalences, it constituted an attempt to make sense of the specific oppressions our present and envisage their transformation.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

This chapter narrated the history of resilience discourses and practices in national cultural policy and the administration of culture, accounting for how and why it rose to prominence (Q.1). While culture did not appear to be a tool for social management in the cases and phenomena discussed, the questions of the management of resources for the socialisation of risks and dangers linked to the economic and environmental crises that have socio-economic and political consequences beyond the field remained central (Q.2).

I traced the first significant uses of the term back to the debates about cultural value. The analysis showed that while its early uses, as opposed to the later uses of the term by MMM, formed part of a counter-discourse that contested the managerialism of New Labour, it also established that resilience, as a discourse, was very quickly inflected towards the utilitarian and pragmatic term of the unity of contraries (culture-as-resource) that defines it. Although I also argued that this historical evolution was not synonymous with a complete waning of the ideality of culture as principle, this evolution mirrored historical trends that Walker and Cooper (2011) identify in other fields. In the work of MMM and its collaborators, the question became less how to resist the current subsumption of culture and more how to turn the economic crisis and cuts into an opportunity to think anew the management of cultural resources and infrastructures. MMM's answer was that

this would be achieved by building one's resilience and self-sufficiency, or in other words, affirming one's economic autonomy from the state through entrepreneurial marketisation.

After analysing some of the practical ambivalences of this expedient resource management rationale and having traced the antecedents of resilience in ACE policy and programmes, the analysis went on to give an overview of resilience in current national policy discourse. This included an analysis of the influential work of Robinson as well as a discussion of the strategic vision of ACE and its green rhetoric via an examination of materials taken from its PR campaigns. This was an opportunity to unpick an aspect of the rhetorical ambivalence of resilience discourses, which I proposed in Q.2b to unpick via the notion of 'culture-as-resource'. The analysis showed that the destructive effects of expedient and liberal logics of resource management were softened by a romantic and nostalgic greenness, which once again functions as a kind of ideological supplement.

The third and longest part of the analysis examined actually existing resilience programmes. The analysis started with a discussion of ACE's current environmental policies. Through an analysis of the histories of these policies as well as the actual programmes and associated organisations, I started to demonstrate that resilience practices and discourses, while conforming to the logics of 'culture-as-resource', can differ substantially in terms of their scope and orientation (Q.2a). Despite identifying a number of progressive artistic and political/policy innovations, I also argued that these policies are marked by similar ambivalences as the green rhetoric of the institution: they enhance the legitimacy of an institution in crisis, which all the while rolls out austerity politics-related programmes.

After exploring how the current turn to private investment in the arts constitutes a negation and recapitulation of the legacies of post-war welfarism, the review of the first set of *Catalyst* programmes showed that the results of this politics of infrastructural support were profoundly mixed in terms of crisis and risk management. Among other things, I discussed a number of problems and risks relating to the push towards diversification of income, some of which are also discussed by Pratt (2017). These risks and dangers include much a higher competition for funds, exhaustion, uncertainty, loss of income and sacrificial labour practices as well as a difficulty to raise funds without the support of the state.

The analysis also confirmed that the current push towards private investment requires heavy state intervention, which I explored further through a discussion of resilience training programmes. The discussion of the training was an opportunity to uncover a temporal pattern proper to processes of subsumption in the age of globalised, transnational capitalism (the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous) that will recur at different points in this thesis and by which, in this chapter, the cultural sector appeared to be both at the forefront of so-called modernisation and always lagging behind its own development.

In the final subsection, I examined a consortium case from the third-tier that counterbalanced a generally negative evaluation of *Catalyst*. After a discussion of HLA, LADA and AA's overall successful experiments with fundraising, I examined their research on money and fundraising in the arts. The ethical policies were shown to be profoundly ambivalent inasmuch as they aimed to embed and mediate current infrastructural changes in the field. However, the strength of this research and training programme lay also in the manner in which it problematised the manner in which dominant practices of resilience condone indirectly the

reproduction of extremes of violence (economic, ecological, socio-political) on other geo-political scenes. I developed these issues with reference to Balibar (2015)'s notion of 'civility' (Q.2c), which I reworked through the concept of culture and a reference to the work of Lloyd and Thomas (1998). The discussion of 'civility' build on the discussion of 'culture-as-resource' inasmuch as it concerned cultural and resilience practices that problematised the some of the ambivalences of the socialisation of risk and crisis performed by dominant resilience practices. *TTMR*, as form of training and thinking in a less assured society, was in the end more interesting than many of the other state-sanctioned forms of training for the simple reason that in face of the incivility of the present, it opened a space and time to take stock of the political possibilities but also contradictions, limitations and failures of the different alternatives in culture to the 'creative' destruction of the present.

### 3. The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination and *C.R.A.S.H*

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter builds on the preceding one by deepening an investigation into how the notion of civility can help to clarify the scope and ambivalences of alternative resilience discourses and practices (Q.2c), while also providing a transition into the third area of inquiry of the thesis. In this chapter, I focus on the work of a European group of art activists called The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination (Lab of ii) and their project titled *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) commissioned by Arts Admin in 2009. The two-week long training-cum-arts programme formed a central part of Arts Admin (AA)'s first *Two Degrees* festival, dedicated to art and climate change. The project's four strands included a training course that culminated in a final performance, as well as commissions and talks. All of the strands of the project were informed by a fictional utopian–dystopian framework of post-capitalist, post-crisis living. Ideas of resilience-building were a central part of this conceptual and practical framework, which crossed art, activism and permaculture, an agricultural practice that aims to produce more resilient environments and ecosystems (Arts Admin, 2009a).

There is no direct comparison from the point of view of means and scope between this case and the previous discussion of resilience in policy. But this is precisely why this case has been included in this thesis, playing a pivotal role in joining the first part of the investigation (chapter 1 and 2) and the second part (4 and 5). While it has little to do with cultural policy, Lab of ii's reappropriation of resilience discourses will parallel the discourses of resilience found in policy contexts. Notably, I will show that Lab of ii's discourses and practices have the



socialisation of the risks related to the multi-dimensional crises of capitalism as their goal. However, contrary to technocratic varieties of resilience discourses and practices, Lab of ii's artistic work belongs to a left-libertarian tradition of social movements. Consequently, their discourse and practice are more antagonistic to the state than the discourses and practices reviewed in the previous chapter including that of *TTMR*, which shared a concern for and resistance to the 'internal colonisation' of culture, but which formed part of a governmental programme. Thus, examining this case will also provide a way of exploring how the social imagination of resilience as art of organisation and management in the face of crisis can be significantly different to that of dominant policy discourses or even *TTMR*.

Beyond the parallels and differences in the nature of the discourse, it is also worth highlighting the overlaps and points of connections between the positions occupied by the groups being discussed thus far. Lab of ii's work bears a relation to those other cases by virtue of the fact that one of the founders of Lab of ii was also a founder of Platform and the former's work has been supported over the years by cultural organisations such as LADA and AA (Művelődési Szint, 2018). In this sense, a discussion of Lab of ii's reappropriation was included to account, as suggested in the previous paragraph, for alternatives that take root in non-governmental and 'community' contexts and, by extension, help to account for variances in culturalist reappropriations of resilience. *TTMR*'s discourse about resilience was to a certain extent secondary in comparison to the practice. In this case, the balance between a discussion of discourse and practice will be inverted, with the former being foregrounded as a means to account more fully for alternative imaginations of resilience in culture linked to social movements.

By focusing on this project, I bring to a close the inquiry that forms the basis of the second research question about the scope and ambivalences of resilience in culture, which moved from a discussion of ‘culture-as-resource’ to a discussion of ‘civility’, two concepts through which I have aimed to account for the rationale of resilience in cultural discourse and practice. By the end of the chapter, I will not have exhausted a discussion of the range of different resilience discourses and practices. However, I will have accounted for significant variances within resilience discourses and practices.

Importantly, though, by focusing on the Lab of ii case, I will be also opening a third area of inquiry that explores how art, conceptually and in practice, produces a negation of resilience discourses and practices. This is a question that I explore in subsequent chapters in relation to the problem of private investment and corporate sponsorship. However, I will lay the foundations for this exploration in the third part of this chapter through the analysis of a part of *C.R.A.S.H.*

Before moving onto that third area of investigation though, the idea of civility will still guide the analysis of Lab of ii’s work. It is worth discussing in a preliminary fashion how I will be inflecting the idea of civility through a discussion of art. In order to do so, I propose to turn to the recent and influential work of performance scholar Shannon Jackson, which in my understanding overlaps with the work of Balibar on civility. It is through the notions of ‘contingency’ and ‘system’, as well as ‘heteronomy’, which are all central terms in Jackson’s recent discussion of socially engaged art (2011, pp.4–5, p.15), that I would like to start considering the relation between art and civility beyond policy.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Socially engaged art generally involves collaboration, engagement with or participation of people and communities (Harvie, 2013; Jackson, 2011).

While I am not absolutely certain of this, I strongly suspect that the term contingency is borrowed from the three-way discussion between Butler, Laclau and Žižek in the co-authored book *Contingency, Hegemony and Universality* (2000) in which contingencies are understood to be the socio-cultural ground in relation to which and out of which politics, as a hegemonic practice, defines itself. Butler associates socio-cultural contingencies with the Hegelian notion of *Sittlichkeit*, encountered in the previous chapter, when she writes:

The sphere of '*Sittlichkeit*' that is formulated in both *The Phenomenology of Spirit* and *The Philosophy of Right* designates the shared set of norms, conventions and values that constitute the cultural horizon in which the subject emerges into self-consciousness – that is, a cultural realm which both constitutes and mediates the subject's relation to itself. [...] These norms do not take any 'necessary' forms, for they not only succeed each other in time, but regularly come into crisis which compel their rearticulation (Butler, 2000, p.172).

Although Jackson never refers to the concept of *Sittlichkeit*, I would argue that her theory of socially engaged art replicates and enlarges the terms of the definition given above. This replication is visible in her definition of socially engaged art, in which art is given a similar position to the one given to the subject of politics in Butler's definition:

It is my contention that some socially engaged art can be distinguished from others by the degree to which they provoke reflection on the contingent systems that support the management of life (Jackson, 2011, p.29).

Art appears to inhabit here a similar position to the citizen–subject: at once part of the contingent systems that support the ‘management of life’, yet also transcending these by becoming part of the state. This idea rejoins the terms of the analysis of *TTMR* and the ongoing discussion of resilience and civility. However, in this chapter, I will be interested in examining the extent to which the art of Lab of ii and their practice of resilience brings into view the violence of social norms while also shaping and rearticulating these as part of left-libertarian cultural politics. Balibar (2015) calls these strategies ‘minoritarian’ forms of civility (p.115), the theoretical model of which is partly found in the work of Foucault. Minoritarian forms of civility are associated to a more libertarian type of politics but also art in the work of Balibar.

After exploring Lab of ii’s collective background and past projects, I will also introduce the context in which *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) was produced. The second part will concentrate on detailing how the collective appropriated the principles associated with permaculture. I will then go on to discuss the strengths and ambivalences of their re-appropriation of resilience. Finally, the last part of the chapter will shift the focus to the third area of inquiry of this thesis.

### 3.2 Trajectories and contexts

#### 3.2.1 The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination

Lab of ii was founded in 2004 by Isabelle Frémeaux, John Jordan and James Ledbitter. Frémeaux is an educator who used to work as a lecturer in the School of Media at Birkbeck, University of London. She has been involved in feminist and ecological social movements for many years (Frémeaux and Jordan, 2012). Jordan is an artist who was originally drawn to body art before finding in cultural activism a way of marrying his concerns for social change and art (Jordan, 1998). While I will draw extensively on the talks and accounts given by Frémeaux, my account of the trajectory of the group will refer to Jordan's early experiences in activism, which are well documented.

Jordan was part of the social and protest movements sometimes referred to as Do It Yourself (DIY) that emerged in the 1990s. McKay (1998), a scholar and historian of these movements, has argued that they built on the ethos of post-Thatcher counter-cultural movements, such as the punk movement and the Greenham Common's Women Peace Camp. Inspired by anarchism and libertarian utopianism, DIY counter-cultures often advocated non-violent direct action as part of struggles and campaigns covering a range of issues, including ecological ones. Jordan was involved in Reclaim the Streets, a movement that aimed to counter the privatisation of roads and motorcar-dominated public spaces through the organisation of roadblocks and impromptu street parties, mixing street theatre with carnival protest (Blanco, 2013). According to Frémeaux, during one of their biggest actions, which consisted of the occupation of the M41 near Shepherd's Bush in London, one tonne of sand was transported and dumped onto the motorway to make a giant sandpit for children. In the midst of the party, dancers on stilts wearing giant ballooned dresses hid environmental activists drilling holes

into the tarmac in order to plant trees (ESA Saint-Luc Bruxelles, 2017). This kind of carnivalesque practice finds part of its inspiration in the work of the Guy Debord and the Situationists. Debord and his collaborators are known for constructing theatrical situations as means of changing in a momentary way the function of everyday public spaces as well as a way of shaping the less clearly recognised social desires buried under the facade of normalcy (Knabb, 2004). While Lab of ii's practice is clearly indebted to the Situationists, their practice can also be related to the notion of civility in a number of ways. Reclaim the Streets, for example, mixed politics and art in order to create ritualised and carnivalesque spaces of freedom (however temporary) that brought attention to the violence embedded in the contingent set of practices that make up society and the everyday. Taken in isolation, the social violence of the norm that these practices aim to highlight might not appear to be necessarily extreme. However, it can be considered so when viewed systemically and beyond the phenomenological moment of violence's eruption. In particular, I am thinking of how some of these movements articulated a theoretical and practical critique of capitalism's ecological and economic violence with a critique of the state's impotence to address this objective/infrastructural violence, which the discussion of *TTMR* also revealed has a strong subjective/ideological dimension (environmental racism).

Jordan and Lab of ii have consistently used the heightened experience of art to perform an avowal of violence embedded in societal and political norms (Jackson, 2011). The renowned Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army (CIRCA), which Lab of ii played a key role in creating, provides another good example of this usage of art (ESA Saint-Luc Bruxelles, 2017). CIRCA was formed in the wake of the Afghan and Iraq war as a response to what the activists perceived to be the absurd violence of war and global capitalism (Kelpto and Up Evil, 2006). While the clowns

mixed theatrical intervention with political protest, CIRCA was not just another carnival protest tactic. Two clowns claim that ‘the methodology of rebel clowning was developed as a way of trying to overcome what we perceived as some of the deeper problems in the way we behave as radicals towards each other, ourselves and our world’ (Kelpto and Up Evil, 2006, p.245). According to Verson (2007), ‘clownbattants’ are trained in the art of clowning in order to intervene in different protest contexts, using their skills, props and personae to ridicule, parody and confront the police. Their simple improvised routines, informed by what Routledge (2012) calls ‘clown logic’ (p.434), aimed to reconfigure habitual forms of perception and identification encountered in protest situations by confounding expectations and forging forms of ‘sensuous solidarity’ between protestors through laughter and humour (Routledge, 2012, p.428). This strategy of civility is minoritarian because it is left-libertarian. It aims to counter what Balibar calls subjective kinds of violence – most notably, perhaps, the authoritarianism embedded in the state (police) and social movements – while also being an active force in ‘majoritarian’ struggles to counter imperialist warmongering and economic domination. In the terms of this thesis, which find an echo in the group’s own discourse, this is achieved by highlighting a discrepancy between what protest could be and should be (an aesthetic and sensuous experience), on the one hand, and its less interesting (deadening) historical conditions of existence, on the other (ESA Saint-Luc Bruxelles, 2017).

The work of Lab of ii is characterised by similar procedures and concerns. Over the years, they went on to create a number of projects in the context of climate change summits. For the COP 15 Climate Change summit in Copenhagen in 2009, the group was involved in the creative re-engineering of disused bicycles for the purposes of protest. The re-engineered bikes, somewhere between modern

war chariots and circus props, were prototyped at the Arnolfini in Bristol where, according to TJ Demos (2016), the Lab of ii was invited to participate in the COP. In Copenhagen, the group worked in collaboration with local social centres and networks of activists to create hundreds of vehicles that were meant to be used as props for protest. For the Paris summit in 2015, Lab of ii played a key part in organising *The Climate Games* that took place during the two weeks of the summit. *The Climate Games* involved 124 participating teams that conducted 214 creative and rebellious actions online and in situ. Harnessing the spirit of Surrealism and Situationism, actions ranged from playful slogans graffitied on riverbanks and surreal encounters with refugee polar bears on the underground to occupations of coal transportation sites (Climate Games, 2016).

The analysis of the second part will show that *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) reproduces the ethos explored throughout this section. Before doing so, the next section introduces the context in which the project was produced.

### **3.2.2 Imagine 2020 and Two Degrees**

Over the years, Lab of ii's work has been supported by Imagine 2020, a network of venues officially created in 2010. Like Tipping Point, the network, funded by the European Union, is a cultural alliance dedicated to thinking about questions of climate change in the field of culture. According to Theresa von Wuthenau (2015), the network coordinator, six different European performing arts organisations started to work together under the banner Year 2020, before expanding the network to another six organisations. The organisation now spans nine different European countries: Belgium, Croatia, France, Germany, Latvia, the Netherlands, Portugal, Slovenia and the UK. 2020 refers to the year after which climate change will be irreversible and the title refers to the possibility of envisaging 'the changes



necessary to stabilise the climate and secure a sustainable future' (von Wuthenau, 2015, p.26). The members of the network felt that art could provide a space 'to create positive energy and a momentum for change through a sense of common purpose and hope' (2015, p.28). This change was first conceived as internal to the field of culture with the alliance aiming to make climate-related issues more visible within it. However, many of the works and projects commissioned had an element of public engagement, so the change became increasingly conceived as happening through culture and its institutions. By 2015, the network had collaborated with approximately 500 artists who had either made art in response to the focus of the network or had participated in the related events or programmes organised by the network (von Wuthenau, 2015).

By placing culture at the forefront of change, Imagine 2020, like the clowns and cultural activism more broadly, remobilises the procedures that I identified as being proper to culture. It mobilises an ethical ideal of (cultural) best self in order to highlight a historical crisis but also to transcend this crisis. The network aims to create spaces in which contemporary forms of incivility and culture's implication in their reproduction can be critically probed and displaced through art, conversation, pedagogy and training. This probing of contemporary forms of incivility bears little relation to actual political practice. However, the network aims to open up a cultural space of pedagogy and creation in which different forms of expertise and practice can be brought together to reflect on, process and potentially act on violence that emanates from our political and economic institutions, but which paradoxically threatens the existence of these very same institutions. Unlike the minoritarian strategies discussed above, however, the network and its institutions might be conceived in terms of a liberal-pluralist kind of civility by virtue of existing at the junction of civil society and the national states

and supra-national entities such as the European Union that fund the network. The network has over the years brought together a plurality of groups and persons, ranging from the radical to the more reformist.

Two Degrees exemplifies this mixed ethos. The first iteration of the bi-annual festival, funded by the European Union's Culture Programme, took place in 2009. Alongside commissioning Lab of ii's project, the festival commissioned Richard DeDomenici's *Plane Food Café* (2009), a response to the chef Marcus Wareing's statement that British pub food is now worse than airplane food. According to DeDomenici's research, pressurised aircraft cabins and their low humidity deaden the taste buds and sense of smell. With the idea that plane food should taste spectacular on the ground (and rendered as art), the artist created a temporary cafe made out of fittings procured from an airplane reclamation yard in which genuine airplane food could be consumed on ground level. The artist claimed that his work would help discourage the environmentally conscious from flying and help 95% of people in the world who have never flown to experience aviation cuisine (Arts Admin, 2009a).

The next iteration of the festival had an additional focus on the ongoing welfare cuts (Arts Admin, 2011). The festival's resident artist, Ellie Harrison, created a number of works in response to this dual focus. According to an account found in Lucy Neal's *Playing for Time* (2015), events included a world record-setting attempt to bring together the most self-employed workers together in the same place at the same time during a normal 9-to-5 day. The project aimed to create a space in which the problems that characterise self-employed work could be noticed and discussed. Such a space presented itself as a site for reflecting on not only the more or less changing norms of labour (the progressive shift to precarious self-employment and self-entrepreneurship in the labour market

generally) but also the violence of this new normal in the institution of culture and beyond. The residency also led the artist to reflect on the kinds of environmentally unsustainable behaviours and norms she reproduces in order to embody the ideal of the successful artist. On this basis, she formulated her first artist environmental policy with sections on diet, energy, transportation, recycling and reuse, and banking. A consistent breach of the transportation section of her policy led her to conduct a project titled *The Glasgow Effect*, during which she investigated the consequences of not leaving Greater Glasgow for a period of one year (BBC, 2017).

The festivals in 2013 and 2015 continued to feature activist works. A new performance intervention by the Institute for the Art and Practice of Dissent at Home was commissioned. The festival also featured Lab of ii's preparation for COP 21. Finally, a site-specific piece made by Platform was also commissioned (Arts Admin, 2015, 2013). The festival also featured new plays and theatre works about climate change by Sarah Woods and Steve Waters as well as public works. Workshops continued being a central part of the festival with US-based artist-activist Brett Bloom running a five-day workshop. The 2017 festival, which continued to feature installations and performances by a range of more or less established artists, also continued to integrate talks and workshops into the programme, including a cafe conversation between artist and theatre-maker Zoë Svendsen and an economist who discussed together the best economic system for responding to climate change (Arts Admin, 2017).

This brief overview of the different *Two Degrees* festivals shows how the bi-annual event mixed pedagogy and training, talks, public installations of various kinds, theatre and performance in order to create a space of cultural engagement but also, viewed through the prism of this discussion, a space civility that facilitates

and is facilitated by the performance of a 'best self'. I now turn to *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a), which will be shown, in part, to emulate this same spirit.

### 3.3 C.R.A.S.H

#### 3.3.1 Art, activism and permaculture

*C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) was framed as an experiment in imagining a post-capitalist, post-crisis future. By being framed in such a way the project played with the ideas of utopia and dystopia, a question that interested Lab of ii, which had embarked on a journey to make a book and film about utopian communities around Europe some time before hosting the project at AA. According to Frémeaux, the film too plays with a similar temporal modality, suggesting that the present of the communities and lives filmed were situated in a somewhat dystopian post-crisis, post-capitalist future (Fondation Copernic, 2012a). Neither the idea of utopia, nor the idea of dystopia relate directly to Balibar's discussion of civility. However, I would argue that they can along lines already partially explored. Caloz-Tschopp (2008), in her discussion of Balibar's idea of civility, proposes the term dystopian utopia, which she claims:

Integrates and combines the dialectic between a desire for emancipation and justice with the dystopian memory of the expansionist history of capitalist modernity and its utilitarian philosophy, which is also a philosophy of destruction and obliteration (2008, p.1) [J.Y Pinder's translation].

I would like to suggest and explore how *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) did just this by opening a space through which contemporary destruction and obliteration could be critically interrogated through art, which also was thought as offering potential ways of

displacing and limiting this destruction. In doing so, *C.R.A.S.H* (2009a) can be understood as providing an alternative training in a less assured society.

The training had four strands of activity, which took place over the first three weeks of June 2009. According to the project planner, the *C.R.A.S.H Course* and the *C.R.A.S.H Conversations* were held during the first two weeks of the project (Arts Admin, 2009b). The public conversations, which focused on permaculture, art and activism, punctuated the main training course in which, according to project documentation, 30 participants and a number of activists, artists, architects and permaculturalists took part (Arts Admin, 2009c). The initial week of training formed the basis for a second week dedicated to the devising of a performance intervention: *C.R.A.S.H Contingency*, performed on the last weekend of June. Finally, *C.R.A.S.H Culture* consisted of a number of commissions, which took place during the final weekend of the project as well.

According to Frémeaux (2015), Lab of ii had run many training sessions in art and activism before. However, it was the first time that permaculture, which according to her ‘brings a powerful ethical framework to the notion of arts and activism’ (2015, p.35), informed their training work so explicitly. Jordan states in an interview that permaculture is a practice that is mainly concerned with the creation of ‘sustainable, resilient productive human cultures’ (Kawckenbos, 2011). In their book *Les sentiers de l'utopie* [Trails of Utopia] (2012), Frémeaux and Jordan define permaculture as ‘a radical approach to designing sustainable life systems, which marries traditional wisdom and contemporary ecological science’ (2012, p.55). They state that:

At the heart of the permaculture’s precepts is the idea that it is by observing the way in which ecosystems work, e.g forests or prairies, that we can learn

how to construct human habitats, which are energetically efficient, resilient, very diverse and very productive (Frémeaux and Jordan, 2012, p.55) [J.Y Pinder's translation].

The inventors of permaculture, Bill Mollison and David Holmgren, found that agricultural systems designed according to the ethics and principles of permaculture were more sustainable and resilient than those of industrial agriculture. In a book authored by Holmgren, one can find the following definition of resilience, which despite its different application rejoins many of the definitions and conceptions previously examined:

Resilience in ecosystems is the continuity of basic system functions and critical elements, despite the fluctuations in their environmental conditions and even the balance of species populations. The ways in which species, ecosystems and whole landscapes develop resilience to these larger destructive forces is a central issue in ecology, and by conscious design, in permaculture (Holmgren, 2002, p.242).

The principles of permaculture and the idea of building resilient systems have been extended from agriculture to the design of all kinds of systems, including urban and work environments. In the context of the project, the application of the principles of permaculture to art and activism could be understood as actualising what Foucault calls a 'prescription of models for living' or 'techniques of existence', techniques that aim to open up spaces of collective freedom against potentially crushing forms of domination or destruction (1997, p.88). These models of living, which are theorised by Balibar (2015) via the idea of minoritarian strategies of civility, constitute ways of embodying and performing a creative critique of one's

time, its norms, its values and its practices. This critique is not just reflective. Instead, it approaches what could be called, after Jackson (2015, p.276), 'life politics/life aesthetics', or even 'living as [artistic] form' (Thompson, 2012, p.18), expressions that appear to refer to Foucault's late aestheticism, which accompanied his turn to ethics. This aestheticism is summarised by the question 'Pourquoi la vie ne peut-elle pas être un art?' (Why can't life be an art?), which is used by Frémeaux to conclude one of her talks about the group's practice (ESA Saint-Luc Bruxelles, 2017). The dandyism underpinning such a question (the work of Baudelaire was a reference in Foucault's inquiry) hides a very real concern for elaborating and moulding new cultural and sociopolitical forms of life and collective identities in the face of domination.

Speaking more directly about permaculture as a practice of resilience and crisis, a text published as part of the workshop summarises the difference between the more technocratic varieties of resilience discourse and the variant being discussed here. Contrasting permaculture with neoliberal doctrine, the text states that:

Neoliberal economist Milton Friedman, one of the architects of the collapse, once said: "Only a crisis produces real change. When that crisis occurs, the actions that are taken depend on the ideas that are lying around."

Permaculture is one of the many postcapitalist ideas emerging from the margins: it's a revolution disguised as gardening (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).

The passage suggests Lab of ii's appropriation of permaculture aspires to be an alternative 'shock doctrine', one that aims to produce a different kind of civilisation

and development, offered by a practice that allegedly combines indigenous knowledges with scientific ones. A diagram created for the project gives an outline of this alternative shock doctrine. I give an account of this diagram in order to give an overview of how permaculture was thought of in relation to art and politics. I will then go on to discuss this combined ethos in more detail.

The diagram consists of a giant triangle, the three corners of which have been joined by a dotted circle. Each corner is named after one of the three components of the course (art, permaculture and political activism). The triangle has been subdivided into smaller triangles in which the three different practices are presented in more detail. The three spaces between the giant triangle and the dotted circle explore the connections between the different practices. Finally, a central triangle, lodged at the centre of the giant and smaller triangles, brings all of the different areas together. Together, the three practices appear to make up seven overlapping areas of intelligence and skill. The areas include imagination and creation; the capacity to create accessible and attractive play; the capacity to observe interconnections in the world and think holistically; the ability to plan and design effectively as well as to mobilise with urgency and passion; a capacity for non-linear thought and action; the power to generate new ideas; and a will to foster participation. The practical forms of intelligence that are particularly associated with permaculture are the capacity to observe interconnections and think holistically as well as the capacity to design effectively so as to make systems more sustainable and resistant to shock (wanderingseed, 2011).

Not having participated in the training programme it is not possible for me to know in detail how this rationale was put into practice in the different course components. However, documentation suggests that the first week consisted of different activities touching on permaculture and art activism. The first day of the



workshop included a session on consensus decision making and an introduction to permaculture with a food-growing practical, as well as an introduction to art activism. During the morning of the second day, a trip to Epping Forest took place, which formed the basis of a session titled Patterns in Nature. The afternoon included a visit to the Organic Lea cooperative and a further study of permaculture principles. During the evenings of these first days, a talk about permaculture was held, and the group also went to see a film on permaculture at Passing Clouds, a squat and social centre in Dalston, London. The next two days were more focused on art activism, with mini sessions on the principles of non-violent direct action and building narratives for campaigning, as well as an introduction to the devising process that the group was going to embark on in week two. The fourth day included a session with James Marriott from Platform, which explored the city as a canvas for the creation of interventions. The afternoon included another session focused on food and community building with Nicole Ferris and Claire Patey. Finally, the last day of the first week consisted of a morning session on shelter-building, which formed part of the group performance, and an afternoon preparatory session focused on the performance that was going to take place the following week. On the Friday, another talk took place, this time about art (Arts Admin, 2009b).

Building on this initial presentation of the project, the next section proceeds to explore the principles and attitudes underpinning permaculture in more detail. It is through the discussion of these attitudes and principles that the exploration of possible divergences of means and scope of resilience practice and discourse will be given more substance (Q.2a-c). The permaculture attitudes and principles under discussion were found in a 42-page publication titled *Think Like A Forest Act Like A Meadow* (2009b), which was produced as part of the project. Throughout

the discussion, I will refer to the different elements of the project as a whole in order to relate the attitudes and principles found in the booklet to practice and the project. First, I turn to the ethics underpinning permaculture.

### **3.3.2 The ethics and principles of permaculture**

*Think Like A Forest Act Like a Meadow* (2009b) is laid out on a series of individual khaki slim-cards printed recto-verso, which were designed and made by the Italian graphic designer Simona Staniscia, an art collective founded in Belgrade called Skart, and UK-based company T-Raid. It is composed of texts, diagrams, illustrations and art, which detail and illustrate the four 'ethics' as well as the 13 'attitudes' and 'principles' at the heart of permaculture (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). The 4 ethics are as follows:

1. Living within Limits
2. People Care
3. Earth Care
4. Fair Share

(Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination)

The idea of living within limits underpins the other 3 precepts. While not explicitly or necessarily anti-capitalist, the idea of living within limits is nevertheless directed against the idea of unlimited economic growth and the transgression of the social limits of the market. A handwritten text in the form of a spiral that appears on one of the cards summarises this alternative rationale:

At the heart of permaculture ethics is the recognition that economic and social systems are only sustainable if they benefit the natural communities upon which they are based (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).

As the fragment of concrete poetry suggests, the idea of living within limits affirms the interdependence of systems and the need to go beyond the domination of non-economic spheres of activity and life by economic rationality and practice. The other three ethics flow from the first and are explored through cognitive maps, which appear on individual cards. 'Earth care' is premised on the idea that human survival and wellbeing depends on the earth and the maintenance of resilient ecological systems (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). It places importance on increasing land 'productivity' through non-industrial, sustainable means and also values the preservation of land and life (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). 'People care' holds necessary that the 'biblical' needs of human beings are met, which include food and water, adequate clothing, housing, education and the means to sustain one's livelihood. People care also calls for a re-organisation of society along participatory, democratic and decentralised lines to facilitate the re-skilling and collective self-education of groups and people (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). Finally, 'fair share' complements the previous three ethics by denoting an equitable distribution of resources and wealth in order to move away from the use of non-renewable energies (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). While the idea of fairness might seem vague, the fourth ethic, along with the other three, can be understood as being key to the recalibrating of the socio-economic apparatus of production

away from the dominance of exchange value and profit towards what Kovel calls 'the enhancement of use-values' for social and personal purposes (2002, p.237). As Löwy (2011) argues, this implies a qualitative conception of social development, which in turn implies nothing less than a new civilisation or civility.

This last idea is made explicit in one of the early texts found in the booklet that takes inspiration from one of Plato's dialogues. In the dialogue, Socrates is asked by Phaedrus why he does not venture outside of the city walls. Socrates replies that he does not venture into the country because only men (found in cities) can teach him something. In the booklet, the following conclusion is drawn:

The soundtrack of western 'civilisation' is the noise of the book of nature being slammed shut and the rumble of war machines approaching. We are told that Nature is mute, it has nothing to teach us, except that it is a battlefield of all against all. But as the war against our climate and ecosystems tips the physiology of the planet into chaos, the myth that Nature is just 'red in tooth and claw', is unravelling (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).

This passage exemplifies the civilisational critique that is embedded within the ethics of permaculture and Lab of ii's practice. It is an ethics and practice of limits concerned with upholding the conditions of possibility of social and collective life. While this discourse resonates with some of the ecological discourses discussed in the previous chapter, it suggests a very different outlook to the all-out entrepreneurialism found in the work of MMM, for instance, which implicitly viewed the current economic and ecological crisis as resolvable within the boundaries of capitalism.

The 4 ethics constitute the basis of 13 principles and attitudes to which I now turn. The 13 attitudes and principles that the booklet presents are as follows:

1. Observe, Connect and Interact
2. Understand and Apply Nature's Patterns
3. The Problem is the Solution
4. Design from the Whole to the Particular, from Pattern to Detail
5. Least Change for Greatest Effect
6. Seek, Use and Encourage Diversity
7. Use Edges and Value the Marginal
8. Each Important Function Supported by Many Elements
9. Each Element Has Many Functions
10. Obtain a Yield
11. Produce No Waste
12. Start Small and Learn from Change
13. Apply Self-Regulation and Accept Feedback

(Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination)

The first principle, 'observe, connect and interact', is reminiscent of the attitudes listed in Robinson's (2010) account of resilient and adaptive organisations.

However, in permaculture, it is originally tied to the design of actual forest gardens. According to Tomas Remiarz, the permaculturalist who co-designed the training course, forest gardens are premised on a seven-layer model of culture derived from the observation of tropical forests (Cawr Coventry University, 2015). This model of culture has been shown to produce a high level of ecological functionality and resilience for soil, water, plants and wildlife, which fulfils the earth care ethic. Forest gardens are also allegedly self-maintaining, requiring low

levels of maintenance. However, they are skill intensive, demanding long periods of observation and design before the production stage. This explains the need for prolonged observation of nature's patterns as well as a multi-perspectival, cross-disciplinary study of a given environment.

Beyond the design of forest gardens, the first principle relates to the capacity to observe the world with care and in detail, which are skills and approaches that Frémeaux and Jordan also associate with artistic sensibilities and processes, and with aesthetics in general. In an interview John Jordan states the following:

For me, aesthetics are about the capacity to really feel the world, to sense it with our bodies, to be deeply aware. Which brings us to the question of paying attention, really being 'in' the world by observing it, which is one of the keys in permaculture. For me, art is simply paying attention. In Buddhism one might call it mindfulness, neuroscientists call it direct experience, Christians might call it contemplation. It's about being in the present, a place of absolute freedom, and doing everything in the best way we can. That's the aesthetic and ethic! (Kwakkenbos, 2011, no pagination).

So, this first principle, which partakes in the aesthetico-ethical ideality of art and culture being discussed in this thesis, presents itself in the discourse as an antidote to the unthinking, crisis-orientated urgency of activists but also modern civilisation. Instead, it helps to foster attention and consideration, qualities that are common to both permaculture and art (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b).

The second principle (understand and apply nature's patterns) is in many ways the complement of the first, although it appears to have, beyond its application to the observation of ecosystems and urban gardening practised

during the workshop, a largely metaphorical value, which rather romantically aligns the technique of permaculture to the ideal of nature as opposed to man-made modernity. A passage of text that explains the principle illustrates this familiar rationale very well:

Water pulses and flows in spirals (watch it going down the plughole), yet our culture ignores its patterns, puts it into canals and waste pipes, encloses it behind levees and dams. Water always wants to meander, it hates straight lines. Ignoring this can have devastating consequences; if nature's patterns had been applied to the building of New Orleans there would have been no levees to break (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).

The already familiar contrast between the repressive character of instrumental man-made environments, on the one hand, and the freedom of nature, on the other, could not be stated more clearly. This procedure testifies to a certain proximity between this discourse of resilience and the ones reviewed in the previous chapter. In particular, this variant of resilience discourse and practice shows its culturalist colours by reproducing the search for organicity as an ideal to be opposed to the base reality of modernity. Nonetheless, key differences are notable. First, New Orleans is not presented as an exemplar of resilience as it had been in think-tank reports discussed in chapter 1. Second, New Orleans becomes, in the passage above, the site for rethinking the idea of development away from a capitalist model, which ultimately made post-Katrina New Orleans appear like a 'Third World' country in the midst of the most powerful dominion in the world, as Harootunian suggests (2007, p.475). Instead, permaculture as a practice that

results from an encounter between indigenous and scientific, pre-modern and modern knowledges, is presented as being capable of countering what Eco-Marxists call the 'metabolic rift' between human societies and other forms of life (Foster, 2000). In this respect, the work of the group could be understood to embody the spirit of what Ridout (2013, p.6) terms 'romantic anti-capitalism', a notion that the theatre scholar borrows from the work of Löwy and Sayre (1984). Ridout states that:

Romantic anti-capitalism names a resistance to industrial capitalism, articulated on behalf of values, practices, and experiences, often those of a premodern, preindustrial, rural life, that industrial capitalism seemed determined to destroy (2013, p.6).

The wager of the romantic anti-capitalist is, as Tomba (2012) has recently stated, that 'there is something of the future encapsulated in the past that can be freed from the contemporaneity of the archaic' (Tomba, 2012, p.175). In its own way, by reinventing a non-contemporaneous form of agricultural practice for the present, permaculture does just this.

In order to explain the third principle (the problem is the solution), the booklet quotes Bill Mollison who said, 'you don't have a slug problem, you have a duck deficiency' (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). The principle demonstrates that while permaculture may be based on scientific research, it can be related to common-sense, pragmatic forms of thinking that are perhaps not always valued or permitted in commodity-dominated societies in which the solutions to your problems are very often sold to you (if you can afford to buy them). For example, documentation of the project shows that



participants took part in skip-diving in order to recover wasted food and sandwiches (the problem) from a local food chain that throws food away daily (Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009a). The video documentation also suggests that other waste materials were sourced and reused for the purposes of the project and the performances as part of the project's ethos of post-capitalist, post-crisis living (Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009b). This example of the application of the third principle within the context of the project also validates the eleventh principle, which I will return to later on in the analysis.

Principles four (design from the whole to the particular, from pattern to detail), five (least change for greatest effect), six (seek, use and encourage diversity), eight (each important function supported by many elements) and nine (each element has many functions) can be illustrated through a discussion of *C.R.A.S.H Contingency* (2009) and the permaculture mobile structure that the participants constructed for the performance. I present *C.R.A.S.H Contingency* briefly before returning to a discussion of the principles.

After spending a week learning different skills, the group set out to design their performance intervention following the dystopian-utopian imagery and ethos of the project. The performance was billed as a post-capitalist voyage to utopia. The idea of contingency, which again echoes previous resilience discourses, was defined on the page dedicated to the project on AA's website as 'a future event or circumstance that is possible but cannot be predicted with certainty as well as a provision for such events' (Arts Admin, no date). *C.R.A.S.H Contingency* was performed over four nights. A description of one of the performance can be found on the website of Artists Project Earth:

The audience entered as a piece of experimental theatre appeared to begin – but after five minutes the lights went up, and the audience became part of an active participatory experience, learning basic versions of some of the skills shared in the course, including consensus-based decision making. Then the audience used consensus to decide together whether to end the evening inside, in the theatre, or to go outside into the streets and, without seeking permission, set up the mobile permaculture structure in a space in the City of London. Every night the audience decided to go outside, twice setting up camp under the new office buildings around Spitalfields market, once in the back lanes by the Gherkin, and finally at Spitalfields City Farm. Each night passers-by joined the audience, shared food and tea and continued in the wider distribution of skills and ideas from the C.R.A.S.H Course (APE, 2011, no pagination).

The project documentation suggests that beyond the night of the performances the group spent the entirety of the second week consensually deciding the design of the mobile permaculture structure as well as the distribution of roles and shape of the performance (Arts Admin, 2009b; Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009c). The fourth principle of permaculture (holistic design) informed the construction and building phase which, according to the schedule, included a period of adjustment before a review was held at the end of the week, and the project finalised the week after. Project documentation also suggests that the mobile structure exemplified the fifth principle of permaculture (least change for greatest effect). The *C.R.A.S.H Course* (2009) participants used 20 wheelbarrows and a set of other materials in order to construct what resembled a kind of mobile home, which could be used by the 48 people who participated on the nights of the performances. The wheelbarrows were used to carry the food and plants and materials to make temporary tent-like

shelters for which the wheelbarrows were also used. Finally, wheelbarrows were used to create water-collecting reservoirs that could be used to water plants and shower humans with. The videos of the process indicate that the designs demanded minimum alteration of the different materials (Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009d). Thus, the numerous wheelbarrows and seriality of the materials used also embodied the principle of redundancy and multi-functionality of objects and resources (Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009d). This process of making also illustrates the sixth principle (seek, use and encourage diversity). The construction of the mobile structure required, like the construction of a forest garden, a diversity of skills and trainings that the participants received as well as brought to the project. A skills audit occurred on the third day of the first week of the training (Arts Admin, 2009b). Some of these principles are common to other resilience discourses (redundancy, multi-functionality, diversity). However, in this variant of the discourse, the principles are moved away from technocratic rationality in order to be reconnected to a participatory conception of the social through a form of living sculpture that provides a counterpoint to existing systems of reproduction and maintenance.

Two other principles, which are also integral to the idea of building resilience, find an illustration in Rebecca Beinart's commission titled *G is for Gluttony* (2009a), which took place during the same four days as *C.R.A.S.H Contingency*. Beinart conducted a foraging field trip in the Square Mile of London over four days using a three-wheeled bike fitted with a parasol and a trailer made out of a set of old drawers that contained a mobile kitchen and storage space for whatever she foraged (Beinart, 2009b; Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009e). At the end of each day, during which she travelled in different directions from Moorgate tube station, she would cook dishes from the plants she foraged, which she offered up to

observers and passers-by. Contrary to her expectations, one of the world's financially richest districts also contained an abundance of edible flora, which was ready to be picked (a confirmation of the third and fifth principle). It is worth quoting the record of her daily culinary inventions to get a measure of what she found and made. On the first day, she cooked 'mallow leaf soup seasoned with foraged herbs; a salad of lime leaves, wintercress, chickweed, plantain, fat hen, fennel, strawberries, mallow flowers, deadnettle flowers & borage flowers' and made lime flower tea. On the second day, she cooked 'lime Leaf wraps filled with Nettle, Yarrow, Chickweed, Chive & Plantain; Elderflower fritters with Juneberry sauce; Mugwort tea'. On the third day, 'nettle, yarrow and lime leaf burgers, seasoned with dried sea lettuce & sea purslane'. With this she made a 'salad of lime leaves, fat hen, wild rocket, mustard leaf, garlic mustard, mallow, borage and marigold flowers' as well as 'gingko, rosemary and mint tea'. On the last day, she cooked 'mallow leaf soup' as well as a 'salad of lime leaves, fat hen, fennel, red clover, borage flowers' along with 'chamomile tea' and 'elderflower fritters' (Beinart, 2009b, no pagination).

I suspect (although I may well be wrong) that a cup of mugwort tea is more appealing as part of a list documenting an art project than in reality. Nevertheless, Beinart's investigation illustrates, among many other principles, the principles of observation and valuing of the marginal as well as the principle of obtaining a yield by observing and interacting with what is already there and playing with the expectations associated with a place, its identity and its function. Beinart's project illustrates in its own discreet kind of way the idea of a technique of existence that crosses art and horticultural science. It functioned according to certain principles and rules of investigation, which, within the context of the project, present themselves as a symbolic means of thwarting fears about a catastrophic future. Her

practice appears to embody a certain form of stoicism that is aimed at civilising civilisation (the City and its bankers) while also countering our ready-made ideas and identifications about a place that one readily associates with capitalistic functionality and standardisation. Yet, her practice also appears to produce a generous kind of sociality, which is anything but individualistic. Instead, the foraging of plants makes the pedagogical ethos of the wider project meet a medical one, that is, an ethos of 'care' and attention towards oneself, others and the environment.

The eleventh principle (produce no waste) finds an additional illustration in another of the commissions. Daniel Jenatsch and Anja Kanngieser led a workshop that invited participants to learn how to build FM micro transmitters, AM transmitters and receivers out of discarded waste (Le Xavier de YouTube, 2009b). The workshop was based on the wider project principle of fostering forms of post-capitalist communication. Beyond the conceit of the project, the workshop aimed to empower participants to produce their own form of public communication and go beyond the feeling that they are incapable of doing such a thing because of a lack of skill or knowledge. In doing so, the participants practiced a microform of communism in which, as Williams (2005, p.57) suggests, the 'division of labour within the mode of production of communication itself' is ended, and in which individuals that have control over means of communication can communicate with each other as fully socialised human beings. This is achieved by actualising one of the principles that Jenny Hughes also identifies as forming part of what she calls a 'theatre commons' – but which I will call the commons of communication – that

makes the 'resources of a commons defeated' (discarded waste) into resources for a future struggle (Hughes, 2015, no pagination).<sup>27</sup>

Finally, the last principle I will discussing in this section, which is the twelfth in the list (start small and learn from change), brings us back to the particular ethos and civility of Lab of ii's practice. The twelfth principle is explained by the idea that social change starts small and goes from the bottom up. It mentions the Zapatista uprising in Mexico against the NAFTA free trade agreement as an example of this principle:

The Zapatistas as they call themselves don't want to take over state power but 'construct power' from below, they call for 'one world made of many worlds', a multitude of rebellions locally specific yet globally interconnected. Starting small isn't just beautiful, it can be unimaginably successful when we learn from our mistakes and take one step at a time (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).

This idea echoes my previous discussion of the spatially and temporally differentiated character of our transnational present in as much as it alludes to the universe as a kind of multiverse (one world made of many worlds). It also connects to an another text that contrasts the potato famine, as an example of extreme violence caused by a mix of environmental disaster and top-down imperial economic policy (industrial mono-culture), with 'horizontal protest movements' 'surviving state repression, because they don't have executive committees to

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<sup>27</sup> The implicit parallel drawn between the work of Williams on communication and the theorists of the commons is suggested by Lecerle (2009).

infiltrate or leaders to assassinate' (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination). The idea of horizontality, bottom-up organisation performs a critique of authoritarianism while also making the connection between social and ecological systems and rationalities (second principle – apply nature's patterns).

The analysis thus far has continued to show how the pragmatic, culture-as-resource rationale of resilience, contrary to what is sometimes intimated in the major critiques of the notion, can be re-functioned for more radical purposes. While I showed that many of the principles discussed in this chapter were held in common with the more dominant and technocratic varieties of resilience discourses, I also suggested that the application of the 4 ethics and 13 principles of permaculture is very different. The analysis above also suggests that this 'minoritarian' instance of resilience discourse and practice partakes in what Negri (1999, p.1) might have call a 'constituent power'. Constituent power aims, first and foremost, to invent and imagine new forms of resilient life away from the state, which the collective appears to dis-identify with in a more forceful way perhaps than some of the actors of *TTMR*. By attempting to reinvent relations between sciences, politics/ethics and art and displace the practices of a society dominated by the commodity-form, Lab of ii's was also shown to encourage and condone resistance to processes of internal colonisation (subsumption) that dominant or hegemonic practices of resilience were shown to legitimise and effect. In fact, their practice recovers something of the original meaning of the expression 'internal colonisation', which Balibar (2015, p.154) borrows from Habermas. For Habermas, the domination of economic rationality led to a fragmentation of different spheres of expertise (science, morality and art) and a separation of expertise from the sphere of life worlds that, according to him, is comparable to colonisation (Balibar,

2015). The task, for Habermas, is to reconnect technical expertise with life worlds in order to challenge the domination of the former over the latter and, in the process, re-legitimate technical expertise and instrumental rationality. Although Lab of ii's practice bears little relation to the work of Habermas, it certainly shares something if this anti-technocratic rationale.

### **3.3.3 The ambivalences of art-activist resilience and civility**

This brings me to address some of the limits and ambivalences of their discourse and practice that are, in fact, indissociable from their strengths. Despite their practice and discourse appearing to be the furthest removed from dominant conceptions of resilience in terms of their scope, it should be noted that their discourse and practice nevertheless mimics libertarian market rationalities. This mimicry is particularly visible in the text outlining the last principle of the booklet – apply self-regulation and accept feedback:

Every living thing self regulates: when we get hot, we sweat and cool down, ecosystems such as meadows aren't mowed or covered in pesticides, they look after themselves. Even the planet works as a self-regulating organism by keeping the atmosphere's temperature compatible to life through the complex chemical and physical interaction of plants, minerals, animals, fungi and micro-organisms. This equilibrium only faltered when we violently intervened by burning fossil fuels. A healthy system requires minimum outside intervention and is constantly monitoring itself for imbalances, mistakes become signposts, feedback is fundamental (Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, 2009b, no pagination).



Effectively, it is in such principles of design applied to the social sphere that the ideas promulgated in the booklet appear to converge with more dominant, technocratic versions of the discourse not only in the notions, tropes and procedures used but also in the positions that these imply. Most notably, ideas of self-regulation, and non-interventional *laissez-faire* produce a naturalisation of the social. This mimicking of the logics of the adaptive cycle and other similar ideas (as opposed to the mirroring of liberal political rationales discussed in the case of the hegemonic/majoritarian strategies *TTMR*) constitutes one of the ambivalences that Balibar (2015) identifies as characterising minoritarian forms of civility. According to him, these have a tendency to produce forms of de-subjection that mirror the objectifying rationales of the market. This tendency, which includes 'processes of naturalising the social bond' (2015, p.123), is present at other levels as well. For instance, while their critique of traditional politics offers an inspiring alternative, it also seems to me that their critique of traditional politics and social movements is premised on a gesture of exile from the world, which could be understood as another form of de-subjection as discussed by Balibar. The exile proceeds from a certain kind of disidentification with society and a counter-identification with more or less temporary, small-scale utopias and politically autonomous communities. However, this exile bypasses the question of hegemony and state power or an equivalent institutional and representational form, which will not cease to be effective.

This ambivalence also appears to be linked to their investment in art and culture, despite their committed activist practice. The analysis of their actual work showed that, undoubtedly, art can make protest and politics more appealing, attractive and creative. However, while Lab of ii quite rightly assert that anyone and everyone is an artist, there is also a sense in which art is a solace for those who

have the cultural, social and economic resources to make it and enjoy it. This is one of the objections that I heard Richard Paton, an economist and once a participant in Reclaim the Streets, make during a *Coney Show and Tell Salon* on activism at Camden People's Theatre in 2013. Taking the floor of the small black box theatre on the corner of Drummond Street and Hampstead Road in London, Paton asked: 'protest as performance, inspiring or indulgent?' (Network of Coney, 2013, no pagination). Paton's argument was that cultural activism (that uses art as tool for protest) that had a practical focus as well as a real social base for action could be effective insofar as it had the potential to politicise the everyday and galvanise social forces with sometimes truly transformative results. For Paton, some of the anti-road protests discussed were a good example of this. According to him, these protests were anchored in real community struggles that invigorated social movements, local residents and activists alike and created new solidarities in the process. In contrast, and taking the clown rebel army as an example, Paton argues that cultural activism could be self-indulgent when too self-absorbed and engrossed in its own aesthetics (the funny acronyms, the overworked symbolism). This, he claims, is sometimes done at the expense of building strong social bases or, to return to an idea dear to permaculturalists, at the expense of building beneficial relationships that cut across society. In short, Paton argues that an initiative like the Clown Army might be too poetical and funny to be politically effective. In the end, the idea of 'living as form' may also say something about the ambivalences of Lab of ii's politics as well as the strength of the collective's art. Lab of ii's practice may not be reducible to a lifestyle politics. However, it does appear to partake in a counter-cultural mode of doing politics, which was common in the DIY protest movements. The group's concern for the invention of new ways and forms of living is in many ways inspiring and welcome. But, I agree with Paton that the privileging

of a politics of small communities and resistant enclaves as well as an aestheticised idea of politics can mean that this practice tends to remain 'weak' and the preserve of a fairly privileged minority of mindful aesthetes and gardeners.

While I acknowledge that the frame and context of this discussion (an arts festival) contributes to my reserve, it should nevertheless be restated that these ambivalences structure their discourse of resilience, which produces other kinds of problems. In principles such as 'the problem is the solution' or 'apply nature's patterns', the discourse effectively combines a very solution-based, pragmatic form of thinking with a specifically culturalist-cum-environmental search for redemption (wholeness, organicity). Here, the society of ants ceases to be synonymous with a spiritless, mechanical society and becomes the new ideal of bottom-up wholeness and insurrectionary sociality. While there is much to say in favour of such a position and ideal, it might also be understood to work against the dystopian-utopian ethos of civility. This discourse appears to presuppose a philosophy of teleological redemption and resolution of violence as well as a phantasmatic unity of culture and nature. It could be argued that such a presupposition does little more than reproduce the ambivalences of the reconciled ideal of ethical 'best self' belonging to the high culturalist tradition, only this time the aesthetic and ethical ideal of culture does not shadow that of liberal politics, it shadows that of the market itself.

With the assessment of the ambivalences of Lab of ii's practice and appropriation of the notion of resilience, the inquiry into the scope of resilience practices is now complete. In order to finish and transition into the next part, I would like to reassert the value of Lab of ii's work in artistic terms as, after all, the project's context of production made it, first and foremost, into an art project. Macherey (2012) gave a talk with Isabelle Frémeaux on the notion of utopia in

which he suggests that the strength of utopia, which is first and foremost a literary notion, lays not in the frontal confrontation and engagement with reality. Rather, the importance of utopia lays in the manner in which it produces a distancing in relation to reality that shows that reality is not consistent with itself and that alternatives to reality, which in this context are also alternatives to resilience, exist (Fondation Copernic, 2012b). Thus, utopian-dystopian practices should not be understood as providing blueprints for a future alternative world. Rather, it is by producing spaces for reflection on and experimentation with the systems of positive norms and contingencies that these practices can make a modest but important contribution to the effective movements for social change and justice. Although my own terms of analysis will be different, the next section proposes to make sense of the utopian character of art that Macherey compares to the negative of a photographic image. This is the mid-point of the thesis. So before launching into the next part, I provide a short recapitulation of the journey performed thus far.

In the previous analyses, I argued that resilience in culture is a rationale of crisis and risk management, the scope and form of which may range significantly while nevertheless conforming to the idea of 'culture-as-ressource'. I argued also that dominant resilience practices and discourses tend not only to be ambivalently reconciled with the existing order, they actively effect and legitimate an intensified subsumption of culture. However, through a discussion of *TTMR* in particular, I also argued that reconciliation is not the only thing produced by the institutions and infrastructures of culture that profess resilience. Introducing the notions of civility and violence has enabled me to raise the stakes of the analysis and posit that alternative resilience practices produce a less ambivalent limiting and distancing of violence.

For the last part of the analysis, I will follow Lab of ii's line of flight and put the dialectic at work in a discussion of art objects rather than of citizen-subjects, of autonomy rather than heteronomy, although the heteronomy of art will remain a key consideration and provide a thread between both parts. Through this process the subject of culture will be objectified and its object (art) presented as a subject-like, self-reflexive structure. Through the development of this dialectic, the analysis will aim to go beyond the point where it came to rest, namely, the 'unconscious' market ideology of Lab of ii's discourse, and in doing so open up the question of how art performs a critical negation of the rationales of resilience.

### **3.4 Art and autonomy: a romantic interruption and detour**

#### **3.4.1 The crisis of art and the art of crisis**

The conception of art that I am interested in exploring in more detail in order to negate the rationales of resilience is also linked to crisis, in both social and artistic terms. The Adornoian thesis that 'the unsolved antagonisms of reality return in artworks as immanent problems of form' will provide a good point of departure (Adorno, 1997, p.6). The thesis enounced above articulates a fundamental problem of modern and contemporary art, which will be my subject of concern in this section: the problem of the crisis of form in the modern work of art. As Osborne (2013) as well as Bernstein (2003) state, this concern for the peculiar predicament of modern art was developed by the Jena Romantics and, in particular, by Friedrich Schlegel. This family name has appeared in this thesis once before in the guise of the character of Meg Schlegel who provided a fictional counterpoint to the analysis of the ethos of philanthropy in the preceding chapter. However, in contrast to Arnold or even Burke and the lineage of more conservative romantic clerisy discussed by Williams (1963), the young Schlegel was what Ridout (2013), after

Sayre and Michael Löwy (1984), calls a 'romantic anti-capitalist' and revolutionary (2013, p.7). I mention these different genealogies briefly in order to establish that, while the conception of art I am about to expound is part of the wider discourse that I have been describing and critiquing thus far, it also constitutes a distinct lineage of it that is not reducible to the other more conservative lines of romanticism, even when some of its figures, including Frederick Schlegel, became conservatives later in their lives.

For the young Schlegel, the model of the 'free', modern artwork was the novel. As Benjamin (1996) but also more recently the literary theorist David Cunningham (2016) suggest, the novel was considered to break with the classical ideal of art because of its hybrid and prosaic character. In contrast to classical genres of poetry (tragedy, comedy but also the epic) the novel was free from conventions, standing in for a general ideal of the modern artwork, an ideal that was highly individualised and singular ('a genre without genre' as Cunningham (2016, p.14) writes). This process of individualisation, which is the mark of the new and modern (or the novel) in art, also engenders a crisis of art's ideal and form. As Cunningham (2016) explains, the new artwork is characterised by a new, boundless freedom and potential for self-determination (beyond established models and genres), which enables it to affirm its own individualised ideal against what art no longer is. However, this limitlessness, which sets no bounds on what materials it might incorporate as a hybrid and impure form, raises the issue of the border between art and non-art, between artistic prose (which formed the basis of what Schlegel would also call universal poetry) and what Cunningham calls the

‘prose of the world’ (2016, p.19).<sup>28</sup> In effect, once the classical ideals of art have been destroyed, life itself becomes the reality against which art differentiates itself, giving birth to an ontological (and for me theatrical) conception of ‘generic’ art.

In social terms, then, the emergence of modern art is conditional upon art’s formal subsumption and the historical formation of a marketised society (capitalism as historical condition of possibility of art and threat to it). The market renders the individual artworks, like individuals themselves, into universal subjects of exchange, that is, equivalent to any other. However, this social and historical condition is also the condition of possibility of the work’s self-determination and autonomy, that is, its ability to resist its function as bearer of exchange value. The idea that ‘the unsolved antagonisms of reality return in artworks as immanent problems of form’ means, then, that the modern artwork is structured by a discrepancy between the promise of (bourgeois and individualised) freedom (the new ideal of art) and the debased reign of exchange value and equivalence (Adorno, 1997, p.6). It is through this antagonism and contradiction, which derives from a partial identity of art with the commodity (dialectic of identity and non-identity), that artistic form always risks becoming part of what Cunningham (2016, p.20) calls ‘the prose of the world’. It is also this dialectic that pushes art to theatrically reinstate its form (a differentiating limit) against reality, producing its own non-predetermined historical movement or law of form in the process, which can be understood as paralleling the movement of

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<sup>28</sup> The idea of living as artistic form discussed earlier as well as the problem of the relation between art and life, which is often a concern of avant-garde practice, can also be understood to find its basis in the problem of the relation between art and non-art after the destruction of art’s classical (pre-existing) ideal.

destruction of semi-marketised social relations and their reinstatement anew ('creation') in a marketised form (subsumption).

The aim of what Schlegel (2003) names 'progressive, universal poetry' (the paradigmatic form of which was the novel as 'genre without genre') was not 'merely to reunite all the separate species of poetry' (p.249). In a famous fragment, Schlegel writes that, on the contrary:

It tries to and should mix and fuse poetry and prose, inspiration and criticism, the poetry of art and the poetry of nature; and make poetry lively and sociable, and life and society poetical [...]. It embraces everything that is purely poetic, from the greatest systems of art, containing within themselves still further systems, to the sigh, the kiss that the poetizing child breathes forth in artless song (2003, p.249).

Furthermore, the work of art thus conceived is, in Adorno's words, 'a construction that is not complete but rather progresses onward into the infinite through self-reflection[...]. Its totality, the unity of a form developed immanently, is that of something not total' (1991, p.16). Thus, universal, progressive poetry, while appearing to connect the passion and the prose, as Meg Schlegel recommends, is a practice that embraces the fragment. In fact, it is a fragment: forever becoming and forever unfinished, embodying the sublime dialectic of limitedness and limitlessness (presentation of the limitlessness in a limited form), ruin and progress, dissolution and creation, fragment and totality.

Cunningham (2004) argues that the work of art thus conceived also implies a specific spatio-temporal logic of artistic experience, one that marks a qualitatively different, new time of artistic but also social experience. The consciousness and



experience of this new time is defined by theatrical rupture and incompleteness, creation and destruction. Art *qua* the romantic fragment is understood to be endowed with a certain capacity to temporalise and negate history by distinguishing itself from what preceded it, while also remaining in becoming. The work of art is both the site of an irrevocable loss of and nostalgia for tradition as well as the site of a future-orientated opening that points to the limits of the domination of exchange value. In this sense, the temporalisation that the work of art effects has a spatial dimension, which gives the fragment the structure of what Smithson (1996, p.72) terms a 'ruin in reverse'.

Now, I would like to reconnect this conception of art to the on-going discussion. I will do so first by returning to the idea of art explored in the first part of this chapter, which is connected but nevertheless quite different. At the beginning of this chapter, I suggested that Jackson (2011) presents art as forming part of social contingencies while also providing a site for achieving a higher kind of socio-political self-reflection. I understand that this approach has value and will appeal to a theorist interested in socially engaged art and in thinking about art in terms of social support, social welfare and citizenship. Indeed, it has proved fruitful for my own analysis of art in terms of civility. However, the genealogy of art discussed here suggests that thinking about how art *formally* negates resilience practices and discourses understood as drivers and legitimators of subsumption necessitates reconnecting a discussion of art *qua* fictitious commodity to the question of economic (reign of exchange-value) rather than political universality (state). It is my argument that it is only by doing so that one can grasp the formal aspects of the critical gesture performed by events such as *TTMR*, in the tradition of institutional critique, or Lab of ii's desire to resist the becoming commodity of art. The following chapters explore how this conception of art constitutes an

alternative to a new affirmative culture produced and reinforced by resilience politics. However, it should be noted that the ideal of art that I have been discussing here is an anti-aesthetic and ontological one, one that acknowledges art's contaminated and hybrid character, but one that by extension also privileges the proposition or idea of the artwork over its realisation (Birnbaum, 2014). The anti-aesthetic and social as well as propositional character of the autonomous work is perhaps best summarised by a poster Platform produced in the 1980s, which declared: 'the question of art is no longer that of aesthetics, but that of the survival of the planet' (Művelődési Szint, 2018).

In order to finish this chapter, I will explore on a preliminary basis how the seeds of such a conception of art are present in Lab of ii's project. The following section gives an account of one of the project's elements that I have not discussed yet. It will provide a conceptual art counterpoint and complement to the policy poetry presented previously. I will return to a discussion of the whole project at the end.

### **3.4.2 Benchmarks in post-capitalism**

On a warm May afternoon in 2016, I decide to search for traces of the project. I depart from my home in south London with a bag, some water and a hand-drawn map reproduced on a small rectangular piece of card (Arts Admin, 2009d). The sinuous black lines and the names of some streets that appear between these lines correspond roughly to London's Square Mile. Around the plan of the district, a set of 13 hand-drawn wooden benches appears. Arrows connect the drawings of the benches to the streets where they are supposed to be located. On the verso of the card, a set of 13 statements appear, which I reproduce below:

1. 'BORROW WITHOUT LIMIT AND SPEND WITHOUT RESTRAINT' GORDON BROWN  
2008
2. THIS BENCH WAS PRESENTED TO THE CITY OF LONDON FOR THE FREE  
EXCHANGE OF IDEAS, CORPORATE TAKEOVERS AND SUBVERSIVE PLOTS
3. IN LOVING MEMORY OF EASY CREDIT
4. DEDICATED TO THE OPPRESSED LABOURERS WHOSE SUFFERING ULTIMATELY  
RENDERED THIS DISPLAY OF CORPORATE AFFLUENCE POSSIBLE
5. IN MEMORY OF THE GENDER PAY GAP
6. IN MEMORY OF JUNE 18<sup>th</sup> 1999 AND ITS LEGACY
7. THIS BENCH CAN BE USED AS A BARRICADE
8. BUY NOW, PAY LATER
9. THIS BENCH REMAINS THE PROPERTY OF THE BANK OF ENGLAND AND IF  
FOUND SHOULD BE RETURNED TO ANY BRANCH
10. 'FOUR LEGS GOOD, TWO LEGS BAD'
11. NO PURCHASE NECESSARY
12. 'THE GLASS SHATTERED LIKE BLOSSOMED FLOWERS AND THE BARRICADES  
FORCED US TO STOP AND THINK' LITMUS DRAKE
13. LITMUS DRAKE (2000–2034), REVOLUTIONARY POET, CONCEIVED ON THIS  
BENCH JUNE 18<sup>th</sup> 1999  
(Arts Admin, 2009d).

The project documentation states that these statements formed the basis of 13 plaques made by the collective Quantitative Teasing, an anonymous collective of A-level students, educators, activists and artists. The group spent time observing the streets of the financial district of London, researching its history and how corporations based in the Square Mile contribute to climate change. Based on this research, they created the series titled *Benchmarks in Postcapitalism* (2009) that were fixed to benches across the area (Arts Admin, 2009c).

I spend the afternoon walking the Square Mile, starting off from Blackfriars Bridge. I am not sure where these benches are as only the names of large boulevards and streets are etched onto the map. So, I decide to drift along the Thames. I initially end up close to St Paul's and make my way through to the Mansion House area. I end up going through roads and small streets that I would otherwise not use. It's lunchtime, and I notice the workers having their lunch breaks and socialising on benches. I look at every bench I come across in areas that I think are those indicated on the map. I hang around bench occupants, in an attempt to see whether they are hiding an insignia. I don't have much luck at the beginning, although I come across a few regular plaques, such as this one:

In loving memory of

Robert Cooper

03/5/1960-13/2/2009

City of London employee sadly missed by

wife, family, friends and colleagues

Ambling through the Square Mile, I also notice the very particular architecture of the place: an eternal construction site dominated by impersonal and abstract corporate architecture, which could be sited anywhere. The skyscrapers tower over a labyrinthine mess of lanes and small mews that embody the history of the place. I come across a blue plaque recording the site of a church first built in the 13<sup>th</sup> century near the Royal Exchange, itself established in 1571 (Wikipedia, 2018d). The plaque was fixed by the City of London on a smooth piece of black marble that is common in this area of town. The plaque, which also refers to the Great Fire of London in 1666, reads as follows:

The Site of  
 St. Barthomolew  
 By The Exchange,  
 Burnt 1666  
 Rebuilt By Wren  
 Demolished 1841

It is also next to a church that I find the first remnants of the project. I have to take a small alleyway called Austin Friars, just off Old Broad Street. It takes me to a church courtyard. On the north-facing side of the building are a series of wooden benches. On the last, I find the following inscription engraved in capital letters:

IN LOVING MEMORY OF EASY CREDIT

It starts in the same way as the one made in memory of Robert Cooper, but the subject is quite different. It is dedicated to the supposedly unacknowledged policy regime that props up slowing growth in developed countries: privatised Keynesianism, that is, the growth of consumer and individual debt (Crouch, 2009). As Fraser (2016) has reiterated in a recent article, debt, the other side of the credit coin, is one of the major financial tools for disinvestment in social welfare, and an intensification of the subsumption of non- or semi-commodified social relations. She writes:

Debt is the instrument by which global financial institutions pressure states to slash social spending, enforce austerity, and generally collude with investors in extracting value from defenceless populations. It is largely through debt, too, that

peasants in the Global South are dispossessed by a new round of corporate land grabs, aimed at cornering supplies of energy, water, arable land and 'carbon offsets'. It is increasingly via debt as well that accumulation proceeds in the historic core: as low-waged, precarious service work replaces unionized industrial labour, wages fall below the socially necessary costs of reproduction; in this 'gig economy', continued consumer spending requires expanded consumer credit, which grows exponentially. It is increasingly through debt, in other words, that capital now cannibalizes labour, disciplines states, transfers wealth from periphery to core, and sucks value from households, families, communities and nature (Fraser, 2016, p. 112).

Other references to debt in particular (bench plaques 1, 3, 8, 11) draw attention to the specific character of contemporary capitalism. The plaques, like Fraser's text, also draw attention to the contradiction and boundary struggles (bench plaques 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10) between the economic sphere and the spheres of social reproduction, which the economic sphere depends on but also threatens and destroys.

What the text performs, however, is just as interesting as its explicit content or subject. The plaque is what in Situationism might be called a 'détournement' of the conventions of bench plaques (Knabb, 2006, p.67). A *détournement*, which appears to reproduce in its own way the logics of the fragment understood as future-orientated ruin is defined in the following manner by Debord:

The reuse of preexisting artistic elements in a new ensemble, has been a constantly present tendency of the contemporary avant-garde, both before and since the formation of the SI. The two fundamental laws of *détournement* are the loss of importance of each detoured autonomous element – which may go so far as to completely lose its original sense – and at the same time

the organization of another meaningful ensemble which confers on each element its new scope and effect' (Knabb, 2006, p.67).

I take it that the 'tendency' referred to here, which performs the devaluation and revaluation of previously autonomous elements, is collage, montage and the ready-made. In this case, the devaluation and revaluation of the bench performed by the plaque mirrors the devaluation and revaluation of stock markets, the geographical heartland of which the bench occupies. The plaque directs our attention to while also differentiating itself from the other benches and wider environment it is part of. The subversive text could easily go unnoticed because it has made this immediate environment its canvas. Yet it is neither totally absorbed by it nor equivalent to a regular bench plaque.

The aphoristic fragment exists in relation to other fragments. Each limited fragment connects to and refers to other limited fragments in a cycle that could go on forever, like the circular walk I perform to find the traces of the project. The distributed character of the plaques, their self-enclosed yet relational character (limited presentation of the limitless), produce a distributive unity that, according to Osborne (2013), is characteristic of the autonomous work. The next plaque fragment that I encounter appears to contradict the first. The potential subject of the epitaph now appears to be speaking from the dead, interpellating the passers-by. It reads:

BUY NOW, PAY LATER

Viewed in relation to each other, then, the plaques appear to be commenting on their own contradictory and antagonistic condition as plaques and benches. For

example, one bench plaque suggests that the benches should be returned to their proprietor, and yet they are rooted to the ground and available to all. The benches facilitate free exchange but of subversive ideas and plots. Best of all, one plaque suggests it can be repurposed as a barricade. In all of these cases, the plaques affirm the blurring but also discrepancy between art and empirical reality, artistic prose and the prose of capitalist reality, and the ideal of freedom and its debased reality.

The hybrid, impure character of the plaques is made particularly visible by the various quotes that constitute them. ‘TWO LEGS BAD, FOUR LEGS GOOD’, taken from Orwell’s *Animal Farm* (2000), is one of the explicit references to a desire for an ecologically more egalitarian form of communism. In contrast to ‘BORROW WITHOUT LIMIT AND SPEND WITHOUT RESTRAINT’, a saying attributed to former chancellor Gordon Brown (Millar, 2008), the plaques reassert a limit through a laconic and sober style (prosaic poetics of quotes and everyday mundane materials) and witty humour.<sup>29</sup>

I would like to finish the discussion with the last bench plaque I found on the journey, across the street from Liverpool Street station, to the east of the largest train station in east London. It has been placed on a bench that is situated at the end of Middlesex Road. The bench faces the street, has the pub *The Shooting Star* to its left forming the corner, and bike stands to its right. A BT telephone box and a red postbox stand between the bench and the pub on the other side of the road

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<sup>29</sup> The style of writing is also testimony to the collective’s Debordian sensibility. Donn   (2009) has shown the relation between Debord’s style and modern conceptions of rhetoric and the sublime.



that runs around the traffic-island-like piece of pavement on which the bench is situated. I read:

LITMUS DRAKE (2000–2034)

REVOLUTIONARY POET CONCEIVED ON THIS BENCH

JUNE 18<sup>th</sup> 1999

This plaque that completes the series comes closest to the first non-art plaque I encountered, that of Robert Cooper. Like Cooper's, the plaque celebrates a life now past and lost. The major difference between both, however, is that Litmus Drake is a seemingly fictional character, perhaps the author of the chaotic narrative weaved by the series of plaques, which appears to have been created from the perspective of an imaginary future (his death is dated at 2034). Beyond reproducing the conceit of the project (post-capitalist, post-crisis futures), I would argue that the plaque illustrates particularly well through its dating function the temporalisation and singularisation of the fragment's form. Dates, of course, are part of chronologies of events, which the plaques record. The date and the plaque appear, in this sense, to fulfil its usual function: the celebration of a life that is also part of a history (another plaque reads 'IN MEMORY OF JUNE 18<sup>TH</sup> 1999 AND ITS LEGACY' that starts with Drake's presumed conception). However, 18th June 1999 is also an index of the creation of the work itself, which I presume was placed on 18th June 2009, during the weekend that *C.R.A.S.H Culture* took place. 18th June 1999 is a signature, rather than a mere record of creation or destruction, birth or death. The work theatrically points to its own creation, to the advent of something new, here and now. This thing, which exists only in the future (for a post-2034 generation), also appears to have retroactively invented its own history and legacy, which is in

fact our present. Paradoxical and enigmatic structure, indeed. However, it has been encountered before in Mark Robinson's (2013) poem, which also opens with a similar kind of idea: a committing to the past that is also taking evidence from the future. I will return to this structure in the next chapter. For now, it suffices to say that this mixed temporality belongs to the tradition of the avant-garde, the bearer of a temporal structure of experience that asserts the non-identity of the artistic and socio-historical present with itself. The fact that a year after my visit the bench had been removed, and no trace of the fragment now remains, reasserts the time-bound character of the work, which in the image of the fictional life it nostalgically records becomes ruin with the passing of time.

The anonymous and collectively authored plaques, should also be understood to exist in relation to other elements of *C.R.A.S.H Culture*, which could also be considered as fragments forever in becoming. For instance, Beinart had performed a number of iterations of her project before *C.R.A.S.H*. The work from *C.R.A.S.H*, in turn, was followed by another iteration of the project as the artist was commissioned for the next festival (Pinder, 2017a). I have not established if this is the case for each of the works presented during *C.R.A.S.H Culture*, but nevertheless I propose that the different components of *C.R.A.S.H* could also be understood to be self-enclosed yet relational fragments that form part of a larger experimental whole. As the integration of permaculture itself suggests, the project can absorb new materials, undoing itself as it constructs itself anew. This change is determined in part by a conjunctural dialectic between the art and non-art elements that compose the work. For example, Beinart suggested she may not have done what she did for project had it taken place a few years later when the food industry had caught on to the idea of foraging (Pinder, 2017a). The instructional character of the booklet also attests to the processual and conceptual character of

the work. Not unlike Yoko Ono's instructional works, which destroyed the boundaries of painting as medium, the booklet functions as documentation but also as a set of instructions or guidelines for future art, education and living in times of crisis (Osborne, 2002). The ecological and systems theory-inspired character of the booklet, then, starts to be reminiscent of the 1960s conceptual experiments of Hans Haacke with the same ecological idioms, or even the Beuysian idea of social sculpture, that is, sculpture that aims to change the world (Osborne, 2002). These characteristics make the borders of the work malleable and grounds the problem of art's crisis of form or the question of crisis as artistic form in the question of the boundaries between art and life (crisis living as artistic form, perhaps). The project was, thus, an experiment in expanding the potential forms of art. This experiment is one among many such experiments that the group performs, the work of which can be understood to form part of a larger body of art-activism, which in turn is one lineage of Live Art. Live Art itself is part of a larger forever becoming fragmented whole that could be simply called Art, which, like progressive, universal poetry, is an open totality that is forever becoming and unfinished, mixing and fusing 'poetry and prose, inspiration and criticism, the poetry of art and the poetry of nature' and to which I also add the prose and poetry of policy (Schlegel, 2003, p.249).

To conclude, it should be said that for all the formal radicality of the art that I have been discussing in this chapter, its singularity and nominalism (uncategorisability is part of this problem), which differentiates it and prevents the self-reflexive art work from becoming self-evident, runs the risk of spilling into a form of 'facticity' (Adorno, 1997, p.155). By this, I mean that becoming so individualised in process of integrating non-art materials, the work risks falling into a form of undifferentiation by which the work ceases to be legible as art. This

is, of course, a dialectic that is constitutive of the art work conceived in this way and is, at one level, welcome. However, with this comes the possibility of a loss of more universal meaning, which is palpable in the analysis of the bench plaques, for instance. While the work comes into being through a process of differentiation from the social relations that constitute it, it should be remembered that it is these relations that constitute its autonomy. In this respect, the infrastructural and institutional supports, discourse and categories of critics, festival and project frameworks, to name just a few structures, play a key role in constituting the work's appearance of autonomy, meaning and value (Bourdieu, 1993). The bench plaques contain the world, but they would not exist, let alone appear to speak, without it.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

After introducing the work of Lab of ii as well as introducing *C.R.A.S.H's* context of production, I discussed the different components of the project in the light of the idea of civility. This discussion, which made up the second part of the chapter, concentrated on the manner in which the group appropriated resilience discourses via the practice of permaculture understood as the art of organisation or management in the face of crisis. I looked at elements of the training course (*C.R.A.S.H Course*), the final performance (*C.R.A.S.H Contingency*) as well as the commissions (*C.R.A.S.H Culture*) in light of the principles of permaculture, which I showed have a number of commonalities with the principles advocated by the defenders of resilience in policy discourse and practice. Despite the commonalities, I showed that the means and ends of Lab of ii's collective practice could not be more different. For one, Lab of ii's reappropriation of the idea of resilience does not legitimate or effect the subsumption of culture through governmental action

but rather questions the subsumption of social relations through artistic means that aim to invent new de-commodified forms of life. Through this analysis, I continued to show in relation to Q2.a that while crisis management is the shared aim of resilience discourse and practice in this context, the means and ends can vary significantly. In a comparable yet different way to *TTMR*, the question of the limiting of inconvertible destruction, notably ecological destruction, was central. This finding confirms that civility is a notion that can render more intelligible the scope of alternative resilience discourses and contributes to answering Q.2c. After appraising the project positively, I went on to discuss its ambivalences in terms of the idea of civility, which confirmed that the idea of civility is also useful to account for the problems of their practice. Among other things, I identified how the left-libertarian, culturalist appropriations of resilience discourses mimic the rationale of the market and its spurious ideology of balanced harmony.

The discussion of ambivalences lay the ground for the discussion of the third part in which I discussed how art can be thought as *formally* capable of negating dominant rationales of resilience (Q.3a). Drawing on Adornoian and post-Adornoian discourse, I argued that the critical charge of the works discussed thus far (*TTMR* and *C.R.A.S.H*) cannot be understood without understanding the negative ideal of art that underlies these works. Art construed ontologically makes policy along with other non-art institutional relations that might determine the production process a material part of the art work. However, it is a part that the art work can and should also transcend in a gesture of negative critique. This idea underpins the Adornoian (1997, p.6) thesis that ‘the unsolved antagonisms of reality return in artworks as immanent problems of form’, which will constitute something of an axiom for the discussions that follows in the next chapters. In a final section and in order to illustrate my discussion with an element of Lab of ii’s

project, I discussed Quantitative Teasing's post-capitalist bench plaques before extending the discussion to the project as a whole.

## 4. *Empty Lot and Deadline*

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter and the next, I explore more fully the manner in which art performs a critical negation of the dominant rationales of resilience, and in doing so also provides an alternative to affirmative culture (Q.3). I will do so by intertwining a discussion of the work of Mexican artist Abraham Cruzvillegas and that of Platform, the art-activist organisation discussed at the end of chapter 2. Their very different practices and works converged at the end of 2015 at the Tate Modern, situated across the Thames from London's Square Mile. Cruzvillegas' *Empty Lot* (2015a) was a site-specific commission made for the Turbine Hall between 2015 and 2016. The unsanctioned festival titled *Deadline* (2015a), organised by Platform and held at Tate Modern, was a protest against oil sponsorship of the Tate that took place in December 2015 for which *Empty Lot* (2015a) functioned as a background.

As announced in chapter 1 and 3, I present art as capable of negating the rationales of resilience thanks to its ability to present social antagonism as an immanent aspect of its form. By rationales, I mean both the policy discourses of resilience and the practices that these discourses legitimate which, in relation to the context of this chapter, are the promotion of private investment but also marketisation. Despite this focus, this chapter is not a mere repetition of chapter 2 and the discussion of *TTMR*. Rather to investigate the effect of these trends on art itself through the notions of affirmative culture and autonomous art. In this chapter, I also add a layer of analysis that relates to the locality of the Tate and urban redevelopment, which I argue are indissociable from considerations of

investment in culture. Urban redevelopment bears on the analysis not so much in terms of how culture can enhance urban development and resilience, or to discuss how resilience may be a relevant concept for urban development, issues that other scholars have already investigated (Boix, Rausel, & Abeledo, 2016; Meerow and Newell, 2016). Rather, I will be considering how, in the context of the Tate, a negation of resilience rationales cannot dispense with a critique of urbanity and regeneration, another avatar of the idea of 'culture-as-resource'. The cases and works selected for this chapter will enable me to develop this dual focus and critique.

It is worth stressing that while this dual approach might appear to distract from a focus on resilience, it is methodologically warranted from the point of view the ontological concept of art that I have elaborated in the previous chapter. An ontological concept of art presupposes that the social relations that constitute the work of art, including the site of the museum as space for art, are immanent to its form. Thus, the institutional critique of financing and structures of support requires a conception of the museum as a phenomenologically bounded architectural site and build environment as well as a node in what I will call globalised 'spaces of flow', constituted by the movement of people and workers, money and financial assets as well as information and art. The works analysed in this chapter will enable my analysis to figure these two levels. Before I say a bit more about the cases, I re-introduce the notion of affirmative culture, which will also inform my analysis of the proposed works as instances of autonomous art. Marcuse defined affirmative culture as:

That culture of the bourgeois epoch which led in the course of its own development to the segregation from civilisation of the mental and



spiritual world as an independent realm of value that is considered superior to civilisation. (Marcuse, 2009, p.70).

On the bourgeois specificity of affirmative culture, Marcuse writes:

“Civilization and culture’ is not simply a translation of the ancient relation of purposeful and purposeless, necessary and beautiful. As the purposeless and beautiful were internalized and, along with the qualities of binding universal validity and sublime beauty, made into the cultural values of the bourgeoisie, a realm of apparent unity and apparent freedom was constructed within culture in which the antagonistic relations of existence were supposed to be stabilized and pacified. Culture affirms and conceals the new conditions of social life’ (Marcuse, 2009, pp.70-71).

In short, where negatively autonomous art presents antagonism as immanent aspects of its form, affirmative culture reconciles. The question of affirmation will come to bear on the analysis of Cruzvillegas’ work, in particular, because of its institutionalised character. My argument is that Cruzvillegas’ work performs a certain kind of critique of dominant models of urban development of which the museum is part. The work achieves this through its materiality and concept, which reference climate resilient forms of agriculture as well as the upbringing of the artist in the urban ‘slums’ of Mexico City. In this respect, and in a comparable way to Lab of ii’s appropriation of resilience, the work offers an alternative and more hopeful imagination of development. By contrast to Lab of ii, however, it will be shown to be less romanticising, which is one of the strengths of the work.

However, *Empty Lot* will also be shown to be constrained by the phenomenological site of the museum, the brand and image of which his work

enhances in an ambivalent way when taking into account how the museum, as a repository of public and cultural value, becomes an important component in the brand management of global multinational companies such as BP. This objection is not a criticism of the work itself or the intentions of the artist. Rather, it is a criticism of the status, both affirmative and negative, that the work acquires in this context. While I will end up arguing that Cruzvillegas' work is rendered affirmative by its institutional siting, I will also suggest that it formally anticipates the institutional critique of sponsorship that Platform performed during the *Deadline* festival (2015a). The festival, which I will analyse in the last part of the chapter, will be understood to complete a critique of the site and social relations that underpin art presented in the context of the museum. In this sense, the two works are indissociable.

Before starting the work of the main analysis, it is worth stating that both works will also advance the discussion of the idea of mixed temporalities that I identified at work in diverse figures and contexts, and which is tied to the idea of subsumption introduced in chapter 1. Mixed temporalities – the 'contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous' – were encountered in the image of the flooded field at the heart of King's Cross as well as in the third world artists turned megastars of the information industry who attempted to save live art from being submerged. These artists gave voice to the broader feeling that cultural organisations and workers, the supposed vanguard of the brave new cultural economy, appear in certain reports and evaluations as never quite innovative, developed and adapted enough. Mixed temporalities were also encountered in the figures of the 'weavers' of the digital age, but also permaculture enthusiasts and, last but not least, Litmus Drake, the revolutionary poet *extraordinaire* who is averred to have been dead since 2034 and is one of the subjects (if not one of the fictional authors) of the

'detourned' bench plaques created by Quantitative Teasing and placed around the Square Mile in June 2009. In my previous discussions, I suggested, drawing on Harootunian (2007) but also Ridout (2013), Löwy and Sayre (1984) as well as Tomba (2012) that the key to understanding the idea of mixed temporality is the historical persistence of uneven development, produced by the continued existence of only formally subsumed activities, which nevertheless become more and more integrated, as anomalous 'exceptions' into circuits of economic production and valorisation. This is the case of art, which Lütticken (2016, p.111) has wryly re-baptised the 'coming exception', an allusion that refers partly to how contemporary capitalism, as a rule, nourishes itself more and more from semi- or non-marketised forms. In the previous chapter, I explored how this process of subsumption is the social condition of art's search for autonomy, while also being a destructive threat to it. This experience of creation and destruction, subsumption but also resistance to being a bearer of exchange value, will once again feature in this chapter as a characteristic of the negatively autonomous work of art, although the work of this chapter will give me a further opportunity to discuss how the future-bound contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous is more and more bound to a presentness that Harootunian calls the 'thickened present' (2007, p.46).

Next, I propose to explore the socio-economic context in more detail so as to introduce the museum and its surrounds but also how these surrounds and questions of urban development connect to issues of sponsorship. Rather than proceeding with a detailed discussion of the notion of 'creative clusters' and 'districts', of which the Southbank is an example, I propose to approach this problem initially via an account of Landry's notion of 'creative city' (2008, p.xxi). Discussing Landry's work will be a way broaching the sub-topic of culture and regeneration, while framing the problem of the iconic status of cultural institutions

in metropolitan urbanity, which makes these sites particularly attractive to investors and sponsors. Landry's discourse is also another example of think-tank discourse already encountered in chapter 2, which is all the more interesting to focus on as it reproduces some characteristics of discourse and thought, which I have already discussed. I should say straight away that while this account will be critical, I do by no means think that the work of urban developers, architects or policy-makers is bad in the absolute. I am first and foremost concerned with framing my discussion in terms that will make sense of the particular kind of development the Southbank partakes in as well as how and why the place can be attractive to corporate sponsors.

## **4.2 The South Bank, the Tate and the artists**

### **4.2.1 Cultural districts and creative cities**

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the notion of creative cities was coined in Australia in the late 1980s (Yencken, 1988). However, it was popularised and developed through a Demos pamphlet co-written by Landry and Bianchini (1995), where the idea of creative cities emerged as a potential solution to the problem of post-industrial decline. The cultural industries were thought of as an integral part of this solution. However, the idea of creativity also names something larger.

Landry stipulates that 'over time, it became clearer that the economy, the political system and the bureaucracy were all part of the creative ecology as the world of cities needed to refocus' (Landry, 2008, p.xxii). He summarises the idea as follows:

The Creative City idea advocates the need for a culture of creativity to be embedded within how the urban stakeholders operate. It implies reassessing the regulations and incentives regime and moving towards a more 'creative

bureaucracy'. Good governance is itself an asset that can generate potential and wealth [...]. This, the notion argues, will provide cities with the flexibility to respond to changing circumstances and thereby create the necessary resilience to possible shocks to the system (Landry, 2008, p.xviii).

Although the object of the discourse is different, the procedures are strongly reminiscent of the think-tank varieties of discourse reviewed in chapter 2. Such a discourse can, effectively, be understood as an expression of a post-public, residual welfarism. This residual, public-private welfarism first encountered in the early sections of chapter 2 advocates a shift from an authoritarian 'machine mindset' (old paternalist bureaucracy) to a thinking concerned with the city as 'organism' that, furthermore, is suffused with an 'eco-awareness' (Landry, 2008, p.xliv, pp.57–58). Through 'the blurring of intellectual boundaries' and 'multidisciplinary planning' (Landry, 2008, p.55), it is understood that creative bureaucracy should aim to produce innovative and holistic solutions to solve emerging and complex problems through bottom-up civic participation, which the discourse contrasts with a top-down instrumentalism, mal-adapted bureaucracy that allegedly cannot cope with messy problems. This thinking, then, is concerned with the inter-relations and connections of parts within an organic whole that it thinks via a series of key terms and concepts, some of which are already familiar: 'capital', 'assets' and 'sustainability' (Landry, 2008, p.60).

Cultural districts such as the South Bank are key to Landry's thinking about creativity. While the idea of creative cities is underpinned by a bottom-up ethos, Landry also speaks about the importance of 'iconics' for a city (Landry, 2008, p.xvliii), including museums and theatres that shape the image and brand of a city. Arguably, the South Bank, that stretches a few kilometres between Southwark and

Westminster Bridge, has become an iconic district as defined by Landry. This is in part due to the prestige projects (National Theatre, Royal Festival Hall, Tate, Globe, festivals) that dominate its landscape but also due to its more recent development as a commercial hive of activity, which coincided with a 'creative' liberalisation of its governance, as McKinnie (2015) suggests.

The South Bank also highlights the tension in Landry's discourse between two rationalities and conceptions of regeneration – culture-led regeneration and cultural regeneration (Evans, 2005) – which together appear to form urban development-related variants of the unity of contraries (utilitarianism-culture) discussed at different point in this thesis. Bassett, speaking about both models, summarises the tension between these conceptions of regeneration in the following manner:

Cultural regeneration is more concerned with themes such as community self-development and self-expression. Economic regeneration is more concerned with growth and property development and finds expression in prestige projects and place marketing. The latter does not necessarily contribute to the former (Bassett quoted in Evans, 2005, p.960).

Despite Landry's (2008) desire to balance both, it is the latter rationale that appears to dominate in the case of the South Bank. And in effect, the development of the South Bank, while in many regards a success, is also inseparable from processes of gentrification and the destruction of place. Writing in the late 1980s, theatre scholar Marvin Carlson (1989) was already commenting on the discontent surrounding the various plans for the South Bank. As Baetan (2009) suggests, local residents also opposed the development because of the lack of social housing and

provision of community amenities as well as the privileging of business, office space and the construction of venues for high, elitist art. The Imax cinema theatre, on the Waterloo roundabout at the end of Waterloo Bridge, which used to house the Cardboard City, home for many of London's homeless, stands as an emblem of this process of displacement, destruction and gentrification (Baeten, 2009).

The destruction of place being discussed here is not the same as the ancient contradiction between the country and the city structuring the Platonic dialogue discussed in Lab of ii's pamphlet from the preceding chapter. Rather, I would like to suggest, following Cunningham (2005), that it is linked to an experience of 'uprooting' or what he calls, after Cacciari, an experience of 'non-dwelling' (p.20), which is proper to the metropolis (as opposed to the city of pre-modern times) understood as 'allegory or privileged figure of capitalist modernity, the essential "site" of modern experience from Baudelaire to Benjamin to Debord' (2005, p.16). This experience of non-dwelling is conditional upon the functionalisation and transformation of sites and places according to the needs of capitalist production and exchange. As Cunningham (2005) writes, 'it is the socioeconomic processes of capitalist relations of production and exchange, dominated by the value-form, that have historically constituted, and continue to constitute, the metropolis' (p.21). This reality could already be observed in the Square Mile. The South Bank, while very different to the Square Mile, could be understood to have, as cultural district and creative icon, a similar status and function.<sup>30</sup> As McKinnie suggests (2015), the

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<sup>30</sup> As Osborne (2013) suggests, borrowing from Augé's vocabulary, the spaces that play a key role in reproducing capitalist relations of production and exchange are not only a dialectical negation of anthropological locality but are also internally differentiated: 'airports, offices, factories, and galleries are not merely equivalent as non-places' (p.134).

cultural district performs 'a palliative role in a city otherwise dedicated to the pursuit of financial capital' (p.76). Thus, the spatial-cum-architectural fixity of the place (as well as its cultural credentials) plays a crucial embedding function, while also being dependent on financial flows (money), flows of people (tourists) and information (art and culture) that it embeds. In this respect, the spatial fixity of the zone is invariably linked to what Osborne (2013), drawing on the work of theorists such as Sassen, calls 'spaces of flow' (p.135), which also transcend more traditional units of locality while remaining vital to the life of the cultural district, the city and the country.

Like the Square Mile, this space has a complex history, which is effectively spatialised in its architecture. McKinnie (2015) avers that the success of the neoliberal refashioning of the Southbank, which made the zone into a commercially vibrant hub, was also partly dependent on its welfarist heritage, most visible in the magnificent post-war Brutalist modernism of its architecture, which bestows upon the place its iconicity. This phenomenon, which echoes the re-functionalisation of welfare reviewed in chapter 2, shows that despite the compression of barriers of space and time consequent the global capitalism's progressive historical expansions (Harvey, 1989), the present does not constitute a clean break from and negation of the past. The present may be future-bound. However, it tends towards the future through a redeployment and recapitulation of its past which, moreover, is spatialised, as McKinnie's analysis suggests.

Considerations of the spatially and temporally differentiated character of the present will feature as part of the analysis of Cruzvillegas' work. What this section has otherwise started to establish through a discussion of the notion of creative cities and regeneration, iconics and the South Bank as cultural district, is how culture forms a key part of capitalist, metropolitan urbanity and development, by



contributing to urban redevelopment, which in turn renders cultural districts and institutions into attractive 'iconics'. The next section builds on this general presentation of the Southbank as creative and cultural hub but focuses on the gallery itself.

#### **4.2.2 The Tate Modern**

The Tate Modern was designed to house 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century art and opened to great critical acclaim at the turn of the millennium (Searle, 2005). The redevelopment, which cost £134 million, also re-valorised the past of the old Bankside Power Station. According to Harvie (2009), the different industrial components of the old power station were emptied out in order for the shell and core architectural structures and features to be reused and adapted into what is now a multi-storied permanent exhibition space that includes the giant Turbine Hall used for commissions. The steel and brick building is 200 metres long with a 100-metre-long central chimney towering high above it (Wikipedia, 2018e). The building is perhaps not as iconic as the Brutalist architecture of the National Theatre and other older buildings of the area. However, the Tate building is arguably a tourist attraction in itself, just as much as the art that it houses. The Millennium Bridge connects the museum to St Paul's Cathedral on the North Bank. Since 2000, the building has also undergone a number of extensions, including the creation of the Tate Tanks for live performances and The Switch House, a ten-storey, 65-metre-high tower (Moore, 2016).

Harvie (2009) has also drawn attention to the manner in which the Tate Modern is a symbol of high cultural capitalism. Its commercial credentials are, among other things, vaunted by its cafes and shops located at different levels of the building, which provide the merchandise that accompanies blockbuster shows and

the museum's collections. According to Evans (2015), who draws on the Tate's annual reports, the museum's income increased by over £18 million in ten years, from the early 1990s to the early 2000s. Income from trade reached nearly £25 million in 2013–2014. These characteristics, which appear to conform to the ideals of resilience propounded by MMM, are concatenated by the more discrete but no less visible corporate logos of exhibition sponsors on billboards, programmes and publicity more generally (Harvie, 2009). Building on the argument presented in chapter 2, it is possible to assert that the gallery is attractive to sponsors in part because, as Harvie (2009) argues, after Holden, the Turbine Hall and the Tate Modern are special civic spaces, seats of the city's creative and cultural credentials. Harvie quotes Holden saying the following:

Tate Modern is creating public goods: greater confidence in public spaces, social interaction among members of the public, trust in public institutions and national and local pride. In this sense, Tate Modern is an embodiment of democratic values (Holden quoted in Harvie, 2009, p.208).

The civic credentials of the place are not only attractive to corporate sponsors and private investors who derive reputational benefits (accrued symbolic and social capital) from being associated with culture. They are compatible with a more general neoliberalisation of culture. Evans (2015) suggests that the compatibility between culture and economy follows the historical trends tied to the rise of philanthropy and private giving reviewed in chapter. According to Evans (2015), while grant-in-aid made up 87% of Tate's income in 1990 it constituted 36% of Tate's income in 2013–2014. Self-generated income (trusts, trading, donations,

sponsorship and other) constituted the rest, totalling £53.2 million compared to a mere £2 million in 1990 (Evans, 2015, pp.54–55).

While the Tate is a major partner museum that is funded directly by the DCMS, the institution's commercialization and turn to private investment and, most controversially, to BP sponsorship is in many ways exemplary of the politics of funding that programmes such as *Catalyst* has intensified. It also exemplifies the power that such metropolitan institutions have of leveraging funds, in part thanks to their location and 'iconic' place-making value but also thanks to one of their prime assets and resources – their cultural brand. As explored through the *TTMR* case, the institution plays a key role in corporate brand management, key financial assets in today's economies, as Arvidsson (2005) has shown. As such, this is not a role that all institutions, cultural hubs or cities fulfil, but one given to institutions of high art in one of the financial heartlands of transnational capitalism.

In the preceding discussion I show how the museum participates in a re-alignment of culture to the culture industries. Before introducing the artists, I would like to develop a final point relating to the museum as site of subsumed culture, which relates to the museum as a symbol of artistic and cultural transnationalism and which will also come to bear on the analysis of art *qua* autonomous art.

A number of Marxist theorists have for a long time now identified that transnational capitalism has, unsurprisingly perhaps, a transcultural logic. Exhibition spaces have for a long time been transcultural spaces, and in many respects the Tate museum is no different. About art in contemporary transnational capitalism, Osborne states that 'the institutions of contemporary [...] have created a novel kind of cultural space – with the international biennale as its already tiring emblem – dedicated to the exploration through art of similarities and differences

between geopolitically diverse forms of social experience that have only recently begun to be represented with the parameters of a common world' (2013, p.27). For Osborne, biennales – symbol of the art *qua* culture industry by virtue of their close integration with rationales of urban and regional development – are also paradigmatic 'emblems of capital's capacity to cross borders, and to accommodate and appropriate cultural differences' (2013, p.165). Following Birnbaum (2014), I find questionable the suggestion found in the first quote and sometimes found in Osborne's work that these spaces of transcultural presentation (specifically biennales) are novel and even possibly imbued with a kind of radicality on account of their transcultural logic. However, such statements have the virtue of stating a logic that is in my view also at work in the Tate. Through its Turbine Hall commissions, in particular, the institution works with an international array of artists that bring with them geopolitically diverse forms of socio-historical experience. The commissions consist of bespoke works made for the hall and have included, in the past, works by Anish Kapoor, Olafur Eliasson, Doris Salcedo and Ai Weiwei. Talk of local and national pride on the part of Holden belies, in this respect, the experience of a more complex form of transnationalism defined by intensified global migrancy of what Osborne terms a 'post-colonialism of 'after 1989' (2013, p.163). Osborne (2013) sometimes makes it sound like these transcultural spaces, spaces of representation of the contemporary in art, are spaces of parity. However, Wu (2009) has clearly shown that the 'nomadic' cultural forms such as biennales are defined by stark (social and artistic) divides and inequalities between artists from the so-called centre and the periphery (Wu, 2009). As well as exploring art, which problematises these inequalities, she has also shown how the migrancy of artists to and the siting of art in the centres of the capitalist art world, more broadly, can have an adverse effect on the art itself. A

short review of a past Turbine Hall commission will help to specify the potentials and problems of this cultural condition, which will also inform my interpretation of Cruzvillegas' work.

The case I am interested in discussing briefly is *Shibboleth* (2007), more commonly known as 'the crack', which was made the Colombian artist Doris Salcedo, and counts, in my view, among the most interesting past commissions for the Turbine. It consisted of an earthquake-like 167 metre rift in the ground that ran the entirety of the Turbine Hall and went three feet underground. Wu (2011, p.71) states that 'the interior of what appeared to be an earthquake fault line was cast to resemble solid rock, but embedded within it was chain-link fencing, reminiscent of prisons or concentration camps'. The artist claims that the work – which according to Wu (2011, p.71) was nothing less than 'an unprecedented physical assault on the very fabric of its host institution' – makes reference to the history of racism that closely shadows the history of capitalism (Wu, 2011). In a statement that says as much about the work than about herself as a migrant artist in a field still dominated by artists from Europe and the United States, the artist claims:

Its appearance disturbs the Turbine Hall in the same way the appearance of immigrants disturbs the consensus and homogeneity of European societies. In high Western tradition the inopportune that interrupts development, progress, is the immigrant, the one who does not share the identity of the identical and has nothing in common with the community (Salcedo quoted in Wu, 2011, p.71).

In appearance, then, this work achieves a certain kind of negative autonomy thanks to the manner in which it problematises its site. By making the building and institution the non-art material of the work it reflexively presents the social brutality tied to histories of migration and exclusion that are both within and without the art institution, as Adan (2010) suggests. Wu (2011), however, very astutely questions the extent to which such apparently bold art may also find itself undermined by the wider social relations that enable it. When she tried to enquire into the finances of the production, she hit (as is often the case) a wall of secrecy. Her detective work, however, reveals that at around the same time that the commission was being made, many of the artist's past works were going on sale in private galleries, which Wu supposes contributed to raising funds for the exhibition as well as to raising the profile of an artist who was about to acquire a stellar reputation. Some of these works, Wu (2011) remarks, were memorabilia from a site-specific performance with a very context-specific and politically charged meaning in relation to Colombia's history of civil war. This leads Wu to ask a crucial question and to come to the following conclusion:

What does it mean if works, painstakingly conceived and produced to commemorate the appalling social reality of Colombia's missing, are later reproduced under the commercial imperatives of a West-run system that condones—indeed, supports with military aid—the existing power structures and social inequalities in Colombia? Where this sort of work becomes the servant of commercial manipulation, the art itself risks being neutralized (Wu, 2011, p.77).

While Wu's approach and the questions she raises, through a Bourdieusian framework, are not exactly the same as mine, her work highlights one of the key problems of this thesis that relates to my third research question: namely, understanding the extent to which and the manner in which an artwork can situate itself critically within the relations of production and circulation that underpin it in order to not become an instance of affirmative culture. For, in effect, a work sited in the hall can still achieve a certain kind of formal autonomy, despite being in a place where culture is more rigorously subsumed. In fact, such spaces require autonomy in order to make them alive as institutions. However, on account of the work enhancing the space (feeding into place-marketing, which in turn attracts and embeds economic power), it also risks becoming affirmative, that is, it risks playing the role of reconciler and concealer, as Wu (2011) suggests. By exploring this problem in my own analysis, I am not saying that artists should not exhibit at the Tate or that the Tate should be abolished. However, my view is that such problems and contradictions, which are constitutive of the work, are problems and contradictions that are worth thinking about in a critique of resilience in culture and are important, more generally, for a materialist understanding of the work. The next section introduces the artists.

#### **4.2.3 Cruzvillegas and *Auto-construcción*, Platform and Deadline**

Cruzvillegas was born in Ajusco, which is a squatter settlement in the southern outskirts of Mexico City. As Davis (2006) suggests, Mexico City is by contrast to a global creative city of the overdeveloped world one of the biggest booming megacities of the developing world defined more often than not by unplanned urban expansion and sprawl (slums). The neighbourhood where Cruzvillegas grew up is exemplary of this phenomenon. It was built in a volcanic area deemed to be

barely habitable as a consequence of the great waves of migration from peripheral rural areas to the urban core of Mexico during the country's push to industrialise in the 1950s and 1960s (Cruzvillegas, 2008). About the houses in his neighbourhood, Cruzvillegas explains that 'the materials and the techniques employed in the building were almost completely improvised, based on specific circumstances of the immediate surroundings, and amid social and economic instability, not just in Mexico, but probably across the world' (McKee, 2008, p.7). Thus, McKee (2008) explains, the artist found in his parents' home and the colony the roots of his sculptural and artistic practice.

The umbrella project or concept under which the artist has performed most of his work since 2007 is named *Auto-construcción* ('Self-construction'). While Cruzvillegas is originally a sculptor, the project is transdisciplinary in the sense discussed in the previous chapter. It incorporates film, installation, drawing, theatre, music, teaching, performance and writing (Greeley, 2015). The sculptural element of Cruzvillegas' work remains nevertheless essential to understanding his work. When invited or commissioned by an art institution or gallery, he will often ask the gallery to collect discarded materials from local skips in the area. With these discarded pieces of waste, he makes sculptures that form ready-made assemblages or DIY constructions, which appear often precarious and unstable.

*Empty Lot* (2015a) follows similar principles and can be considered as an iteration of the same idea. Commenting on the ethos of Cruzvillegas' practice, which informed the making of *Empty Lot* (2015a), curator Mark Godfrey argues:

To make sculpture in this way means being resourceful, and improvising; this kind of working might be seen as akin to basic thrifty businesses and entrepreneurs (i.e you use whatever resources are at hand to make things,



trying to expand as little as possible in order to maximize profit), but in the context of high-budget sculpture and a world which fetishizes new things, Cruzvillegas's approach instead seems to be a model of sustainability (Godfrey, 2015, p.496).

This DIY practice and ethos of reuse, which is an implicit ode to the resilience of rural migrant and settler communities, can also be understood, following Kobiak (2016, p.56) who draws on Marcuse, as producing 'a critique of a given state of affairs on its own grounds – of the established system of life, which denies its own promises and potentialities'. The immanent critique that his work performs is, in part, that of official, state-sanctioned and nationalist narratives of progress in Mexico (Cruzvillegas, 2015b). The waste and detritus of our economic system, which is the non-art material of his work, re-affirms the discrepancy between the promise of bourgeois progress and its wasted reality, which thinking back to Balibar's Benjaminian argument, might also be understood as its 'inconvertible' rubble or what Bataille names the 'heterogenous' (Balibar, 2015, p.41).

This acute awareness of Mexico's situation and place within the global order is, in part, tied to the event that came to symbolise Mexico's entrance into the global liberal order: the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City. The earthquake became an allegory for the difficult process of so-called modernisation of Mexico, which underwent various phases, including the country's subjection to neoliberal structural adjustments programmes (liberalisation of trade, privatisation) of the 1980s, and the NAFTA agreements of the 1990s (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015). Cruzvillegas, Orozco, Kuri, Ortega and a number of other artists who shared an interest in mass commodity culture as well as an interest in the place of Mexico and Mexican culture within this global order were part of an alternative, self-

organised scene that emerged around that time, which embraced influences from other parts of Latin America as well as the rest of the world. This group of artists was particularly critical of neo-Mexicanism in painting, which was understood to be the cultural forerunner of Mexico's claim to a place in the new global order (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015).

This all-too-brief biography and contextualisation has served to introduce the practices and concepts that underpin *Empty Lot* (2015a), which I have suggested conforms formally to the characteristics of art discussed in the preceding chapter. One of the concerns of the analysis will reside in understanding how the work through its logics of self-construction presents a critique of the social relations within which it sits. My argument will be that the presentation of mixed temporalities and urban experiences (the Ajusco migrant model of resilient urbanity) in *Empty Lot* (2015a) produces an interesting investigation of the transnational urban form of the Southbank. However, my argument will also be that, on account of its siting in the hall, it should be best viewed in combination with the work of Platform, whose festival *Deadline* (2015a) will be understood, following logic that I will outline in the course of the analysis, to realise and undo Cruzvillegas' work. A string of performance scholars including Read (2013), Schmidt (2010) and Tompkins (2014) have written about Platform's past projects. I will not revisit these here in detail as the subject of discussion is the festival in which a number of other groups and persons participated. However, I will give a general overview of the group's work and ethos, glimpses of which we have already caught in chapters 2 and 3.

Platform was founded in the early 1980s (Bottoms, 2012). Environmental politics has for a long time been an important part of Platform's work, although the murder of a group of Nigerian activists who became known as Ogoni 9 and which

included Nigerian activist and playwright-author Ken-Saro Wiwa in 1995 contributed to the group's focus on human rights violations by global corporations British Petroleum and Shell (Rowell et al., 2005). The collective, which has changed and morphed over its 35 years of existence, includes artists and activists as well as people with non-art campaigning backgrounds (Bottoms, 2012). This makes Platform, as Bottoms (2012) suggests, a truly interdisciplinary art, activist and educational organisation.

I mentioned in chapter 2 that Platform is a member of the larger Art Not Oil coalition, which is campaigning to end oil sponsorship of cultural institutions in the UK and globally. According to Evans (2015), this campaign came off the back of similar campaigns conducted throughout the 1990s in relation to tobacco and arms manufacturing. While I will not revisit the particular issue of sponsorship in great detail, I will restate briefly how the sponsorship of Tate by BP, a 26-year relationship that ended in 2016, provides an interesting case for our discussion of resilience discourses, illustrating the dissensus around the idea and its definitions. In chapter 2, I discussed how culture provides big oil companies with a social license to operate, a PR and marketing concept that gained currency after Shell aimed to clean up its tarnished public image after the high-profile murder of the Ogoni 9 (Evans, 2015). Evans (2015) and a number of Platform activists have shown that BP sponsors institutions such as the Tate for similar motives. However, it has also be shown that the proportion of BP's sponsorship of cultural institutions in London, such as Tate, was actually very small in comparison with other sources of funding (Clarke et al., 2011). For the groups that are part of the Art not Oil campaign, this data was and still is key in challenging the myth perpetuated by the heads of these institutions themselves that arts institutions are absolutely dependent on these forms of sponsorship in times of crisis (Clarke et al., 2011).

They argue that, in fact, the reverse is true. Namely, it is cultural organisations that play a stabilising and embedding role for companies such as BP, in particular when they are marred by crises such as that of Deepwater Horizon, which turns public opinion against them. Platform and the Art Not Oil coalition argue, then, that this association went against the ethical policy and values of Tate (by extension against the definitions of resilience endorsed by the ACE or probably the DCMS), stressing that it mars the identity of an organisation that, if anything, should stand for ethical and politically progressive culture. Underlying the argument is also the more fundamental idea that this association goes against the building of an ecologically resilient and sustainable society (Clarke et al., 2011).<sup>31</sup> This argument is important for the analysis of this chapter as it brings my analysis back to the question of antagonism in cultural practice. And while I will not return to discussions of resilience policies, the analysis of the festival will be the opportunity to make visible this antagonism and malaise, which is the gesture through which art negates resilience. What follows is an account and discussion of Cruzvillegas' work *Empty Lot* (2015). This account reproduces my first encounter with the work, which occurred during the Platform festival and a performance lecture by Alan Read, which opened the Platform festival.

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<sup>31</sup> Evans (2015) argues that the malaise caused by this relationship was also felt amongst the members of Tate who took up the issue a number of times with the board of the institution.

### 4.3 The (Non-)Site

#### 4.3.1 *Empty Lot*: floating islands on giant scaffolds

I arrive at the Tate early in the morning for the opening of the festival. A small crowd of people has already gathered on the first level bridge that joins the two sides of the building in the middle of the Turbine Hall. People are sitting on the concrete listening to Alan Read giving a performance lecture. He is talking about 'phyto-performance', that is, performance practices that de-centre the human through a re-centering on plants and processes of 'co-presentation alongside and within plant processes' (Vieira et al., 2015, p.xx). Such performances invite us, Read claims, to problematise amongst other things what he calls the 'English Garden effect' (Read, 2015, p.251): the conversion of landscapes into nicely arranged gardens, a euphemism for the covering up of acts of destruction and extermination of life tied to the march of so-called progress (Read, 2015, p.251).

It turns out that Read is performing a co-presentation alongside and within plant processes. His lecture is also a phyto-performance of sorts. His human figure is flanked by plants situated on both sides of the hall, which are part of Cruzvillegas' *Empty Lot* (2015a). As I lean over the edge of the bridge, I can see on either side two giant, raised platforms on which triangular, wedge-like planters have been placed and, in the planters, soil. Out of some of the planters, one can see tufts of green where plants and other forms of life are growing. According to Godfrey (2015b), the planters have been filled with earth collected from public parks, heaths, commons, green spaces, and private gardens from across London, including the curator's. The trays are watered on a regular basis. No flowers or bulbs have been planted in the planters. However, some planters have already become full of life (grass, weeds and mushrooms) while others have remained barren in outward appearance at least. The planters are also lit by 10 spotlights

rigged on each side of the giant platforms. DIY sculptural lights have been placed around the planters as well. Cruzvillegas and his collaborators constructed them from materials found in skips and on construction sites near the museum (Tate, 2015).

The giant triangular platforms point towards the western entrance of the gallery as well as the eastern end of the hall. The stepped, stair-like giant platform facing east becomes more elevated as the sculpture reaches further into the hall. On the western end, the sculpture goes down and is at its lowest height when closest to the sloped entrance of the museum. From the bridge, from where the scaffolding is not visible, the platform appears to be a floating as if it had erected itself. As I go down from the bridge and enter the sculpture's underbelly, I am absorbed by a structure that appears to be in perpetual construction, forever remaking itself. It is a maze of scaffolding supported by a dozen square support towers distributed in no more than four or five rows over the length of the giant structure. Small, warm yellow lights hang from the top of the scaffolding to light up the underside of the structure.

By contrast, the actual platforms are defined by symmetry. The mini-triangular planters, which contain the growth, sit on 11 different steps of two and half metres in length (Tate, 2015). Because the giant platforms are triangular in shape, each step holds a different number of planters, the interiors of which are lined with black material. The steps closest to the bridge on each side contain 21 mini-planters. Each new step has two less planters than the previous one, so the tip of the giant triangle supported by a single support tower clad in wiring holds up a single planter (Tate, 2015). The size is imposing yet the minimalist bareness of the planters as well as the sense of improvised inventiveness created by the sculptural lamps provide a counterpoint to the symmetries of the structure.

This account of the work suggests that *Empty Lot* (2015a), while singular, reproduces by certain of its aspects (DIY constructions, urban scaffolded sculpture) the ethos of Cruzvillegas' work, and notably the Ajusco-inspired ethos of 'self-construction' discussed in the previous section. I will now examine how despite Cruzvillegas' suspicion of performing Mexican-ness on the art world stage, the work carries those urban Mexican experiences, which I will be relating back to the issue of the mixed temporalities of uneven development.

Cruzvillegas states that one of his early reference points for the construction was a pre-colonial agricultural system called chinampas (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015). The chinampas system is supposed to be a highly sustainable, climate-resilient and localised form of culture (Saliba, 2015), about which Cruzvillegas states:

These were little rectangular islands created by the Aztec people in the lake of Mexico when much of the city we know today was on and around a large lake. They made these rectangular islands in grids with canals running between them. The islands were for agriculture – for corn, beans, chilli, tomatoes, potatoes and so on – a very organic system [...]. The chinampas were on my mind when I thought about constructing floating piece of land in the Turbine Hall: a floating piece of land divided into trays of earth (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015, p.63).

This interest in pre-modern forms of agriculture, which nevertheless persist today, is a clear point of connection with permaculture and appears to instantiate the temporal logics of the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous. However, in contrast to Lab of ii's discourse of resilience, the minimalist floating piece of land and its trays of earth as well as industrial scale of the work avoids a badly romantic

view of nature, which Lab of ii's discourse tends to construct. Instead, *Empty Lot* (2015a) presents a very contemporary urban imagination, which I will argue is one of large-scale destruction, loss and crisis as well as possibility. I will explore this problem in a bit more detail below starting with the question of destruction and loss.

The sculptural construction, in its scale as well as materials, appears to present the ever-expanding urban experience of the metropolis or perhaps I should say megalopolis. As Cunningham suggests speaking about metropolitan-megalopolitan urbanity of transnational capitalism:

The simultaneous joining up of 'juxtaposed and distant points' that – no longer held (however porously) within the continuous spatial totality of more or less discrete metropolises – now forms an emergent, immanently differentiated, total process of urbanization on a planetary scale (2005, p.21).

*Empty Lot* (2015) could be understood to present the geopolitically differentiated character of this process, which divides and connects global cities like London and megacities like Mexico. Thus, the re-inscription of this differential reality by a migrant artist in a gallery in London appears to make palpable in its materiality and form the inequalities in development between cities in the overdeveloped world and developing world. As Davis (2006) has pointed out migration to urban centres in the booming cities of the Global South has produced an explosion of urban poverty, nothing less than a 'surplus humanity', a new urban rabble variously (un)employed in a nebulous and expanding informal economy (Davis, 2006, p.174). This urbanity is also linked to the production of all kinds of new toxicities, hazards and environmental degradation on account of the encroachment of



unplanned urban sprawl on rural environmental reserves (Davis, 2010, 2006). The production of urban inequalities and the disorganisation of labour power caused by large-scale migration, as well as the production of a globalised urban rabble, are not figured explicitly in the work. However, the antagonisms that traverse contemporary transnational, urban capitalism are through the presentation of the residual character of traditional, even rural cultures and forms of sociality, the rationalisation of a barren nature and depleted resources, which also alludes to the sporadic politics of guerrilla gardening and land-grabbing performed by the urban poor, including Cruzvillegas' parents (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015). These inequalities in urban development are also, as Davis (2010) and Fraser (2016) state, partly sustained by regimes of debt that limit public investment in the sprawling cities of the Global South, and which sustain the dominance of the great centres of finance capital in the Global North. The presentation of this inequality also appears, in a comparable way to Towell's parable about Brazilian cultural workers, to be double-coded. The figuration of uneven development points to urban inequalities that define London, and which are reproduced, wittingly or not, through processes of regeneration such as those that define the South Bank.

In this sense, the work's mixing of traditional and modern, ancient and contemporary presents a rebuttal of what Harootunian (2007) views as 'one of the more successful conjurations performed by modern industrialized societies': the concealment of 'the unevenness within their own precincts and its accompanying, mixed, and often "discordant temporalities" regulating the rhythms of life, making it [the unevenness – J.Y Pinder] appear as a problem stigmatizing the nonmodern' (p.475). This gesture of Cruzvillegas' work, by which the antagonism that define the unevenly developed London and transnational urbanity more broadly are re-presented, defines the work's claim to autonomy.

In doing so, however, it also avoids what Cunningham (2005, p.22) calls the 'pathos of enclave theory', which arguably defines Lab of ii's utopian yearnings. If following Tomba (2012, p.175), there appears to be 'something of the future encapsulated in the past that can be freed from the contemporaneity of the archaic' in the present work, then the utopian charge of pre-capitalist pasts (chinampas) and nature appear differently to the lost rural idylls previously encountered. Odes to the lost idyll were spoken by bench plaques lamenting the existence of bipeds, the animals for whom the benches were designed for in the first place. They also appeared in the guise of poems about the Niger Delta, a lost paradise, becoming a hostile home and lover. In *Empty Lot* (2015a), however, the past does not appear as a lost paradise. Here, the past appears closer to how it was figured in Robinson's (2013) poem about the North-East: destruction without the organic idyll. If *Empty Lot* (2015a), which Cruzvillegas claims is a sculpture made out of hope (Tate, 2015), presents a freeing of archaic futurity, a commitment to the past that is also a taking evidence from the future as Robinson's (2013) poem but also the existence Litmus Drake's plaque suggest, then the archaic is definitely an up-rooted ideal. Despite the irrevocable loss that it produces, it is this condition of no return that also opens up possibilities, which the growing life of the empty lots embodies. It should also be noted that while the time-based character of the plant performance adds to the sense of the work's incompleteness (its ruin in reverse), there is a sense in which these alternative temporalities are contained or minimised by the overbearing spatial thereness of the structure. This does not annul the futurity of the archaic per se. However, the experience of uprooting and un-dwelling that this spatialisation embodies, which is presented in the materials and forms of the sculpture undoubtedly presupposes the urban present of the interconnected

megapolis. This appears to make for a soberer re-invention of the chinampas than the one imagined by the permaculturalists of the previous chapter.

This urbanity also appears to be the condition of possibility for other urban imaginations, figured through the allusions to guerrilla gardening and land-grabbing, practices that aim to reclaim the use values and social intelligence produced by cities (McKay, 2013). In this sense, the uselessness and the randomness of the empty lots, taken from various commons and public spaces of London, stand in for what Adorno called the ‘stunted use value’ (Adorno, 1997, p.227) – those non-commercial spaces that are encroached upon by the sprawling urbanity that is otherwise the condition of their existence. This tension was already present in the discussion of the two conceptions (cultural regeneration/culture-led regeneration) of development and regeneration nested in Landry’s discussion of creative cities. *Empty Lot* (2015a) recovers this antagonism in form.

The preceding analysis has done much to clarify the social character of the work. However, the artistic character of the work remains to be more fully determined in order to understand in more detail how it exists within the lineages of art that I specified in the previous chapter. As the curator suggests, Cruzvillegas’ work can also be productively viewed in relation to a number of practices and artists, including the Soviet Constructivists, Hans Haacke’s growing grass works and the architectural works of Matta-Clark (Cruzvillegas and Godfrey, 2015). However, it is perhaps Smithson’s concept of the non-site that is most relevant in terms of how the concept can help to make sense of the formal features of the work as well as its relation to the museum, the cultural district and the city.

About the non-site and its relation to site in the work of Smithson, Meyer (2000) writes:

Place, for Smithson, is a vectored relation: the physical site is a destination to be seen or left behind, a “tour” recalled through snapshots and travelogues. It is only temporarily experienced [...], if it is seen at all (*Spiral Jetty* sank soon after its completion). Site as a unique, demarcated place available to perceptual experience alone [...] becomes a network of sites referring to an elsewhere (2000, p.30).

As examples of non-sites, one could evoke Smithson’s *Floating Island to Travel Around Manhattan Island*, which was an instruction for a tugboat to pull a barge full of trees and vegetation around Manhattan, making *Floating Island* a mirror displacement of a green island (Osborne, 2013). The idea of non-site also informed the influential model of the mobile artist as tourist or investigator of multiple sites, which I think also underpins Beinart’s investigations of the flora and fauna of the Square Mile (Osborne, 2013). *Empty Lot* (2015a) reproduces something of this rationale. The different soils, which were gathered from different parks and places, create a mirror of the city, which the work is constituted by and placed in relation to. Kaye (2000) suggests that the representation of a site as a non-site is a way of revealing the relation between the non-site of the gallery or work of art and what it exists in relation to but also negates. Through this indexical quality, the non-site exposes, as Kaye suggests, ‘the limits and operation of the gallery itself’ and the form of development it partakes it (Kaye, 2000, p.93). By doing so, it may also be understood, as my previous analysis of the archaic suggests, as presenting another ideal of urbanity, which reveals the limits of our own.

The preceding analysis of the work’s autonomy needs to be complicated and complemented on a number of counts. It would be perhaps unfair to criticise the

work for not having integrated a critique of its sponsors, as I do not think that the sponsorship relation constituted an element of the work's concept. Nevertheless, this question comes to bear on the analysis as the site-specific character of the work complicates any claims to a form of critical autonomy. As Osborne (2013) suggests, the category of non-site emerged as a reaction against the institutionalisation of art in the same manner as conceptual art discourse was, in part, a reaction against commodification of art as well as institutionalised (Greenbergian) forms of criticism. The problem of institutionalisation poses itself in the context of Cruzvillegas' work as it did in the case of Salcedo's work. In both cases, a reflexive relation to the institution is constructed. But, also in both cases, the institutionalisation of the work is ambivalent. In the case of Cruzvillegas we may wonder whether the work, regardless of the intentions of the artist, functions as an adornment to the building itself in not a dissimilar way to how Akademi's site-specific performance adorned the gardens of the billionaire moguls. Projects such as *Empty Lot* (2015a) and the commissions appear to provide the museum with a contemporary edge that comes to complement the museum's claim to be a repository of transnational 'modern' heritage and culture, cultural value and public good. This is, of course, a good thing. However, this also presents a contradiction that is worth discussing as it points to a potential limit of the work understood as non-site. The site-specific commission appears thanks to its publicness to add value to the site and brand of the Tate, which in turn makes it more attractive to sponsors and makes the gallery a key node in the management of corporate financial assets. In this respect, the commissions, more generally, share certain characteristics with what McKinnie (2012) calls monopolistic performance. Namely, commissions like *Empty Lot* (2015a) maximise the use of the space. However, instead of playing with fantasies of private ownership, I would argue

that it is the publicness of these commissions, their ideality as public goods and cultural value *à la* Holden (enhanced by their sheer size) that makes them an attractive proposition for the museum but also by extension by the sponsors.

Having unpicked this ambivalence, which means that the work has been identified as oscillating between negative and affirmative autonomy, the next section goes on to explore how the *Deadline* (2015a) festival could be understood to realise but also undo Cruzvillegas' work by developing the logics of his work as non-site beyond what I understand to be its unwitting spatial containment. The work of the festival will do so by actualising the guerrilla gardening principle embedded in the empty lots, those little wedged fragments of temporalised space, which appear to render *Empty Lot* (2015a) incomplete while realising the work's ideal by making a place for heteronomous processes and contingencies, struggles for use-values and resistance to be a bearer of exchange-value. The empty lots, in this respect, perform what Benjamin (1996, p.163) calls the ironisation of art's form, its 'freely willed destruction' in the search of its unconditioned autonomy. The search is ironic as the unconditioned character of the work reveals itself to be illusory: autonomy is conditioned, a contradiction and tension made visible in the relation between the arial, 'floating' platform and the underbelly of the structure.

However, in activating, beyond the work's spatialised containment, the apparent auto-destruction of the work, the festival will be shown to displace the phenomenological minimalism of Cruzvillegas' site-specific commission and produce a concept of non-site and, more generally, of art that in my view is not reconcilable with the rationales of sponsorship. I also warn the reader that the analysis of the festival will be less developed than the previous one. This is due to

the fact that it was a festival with many works. After giving a brief account of the overall I will settle on the analysis of one work before concluding.

#### **4.3.2 *Deadline***

As suggested above, and as Meyer (2000) specifies, the first wave of artists interested in institutional critique ‘displaced the phenomenological site of the minimalist installation into a critical reflection on the gallery itself’ (p.25). While this rationale is not entirely absent from Cruzvillegas’ work, the latter does not address how cultural institutions embed financial flows as part of what Platform (2012, p.6) members calls the ‘Carbon Web’. About the Carbon Web members of Platform write:

Around the oil corporation are gathered institutions that enable it to conduct its business. These include public and private banks, government ministries and military bodies, engineering companies and legal firms, universities and environmental consultants, non-governmental organizations and cultural institutions. All these make up the Carbon Web that drives forward the extraction, transportation, and consumption of fossil fuels (Marriot and Minio-Paluello, 2012, p.6).

In this respect the institutional critique that Platform and its collaborators perform through such events is ‘site-specific’ but aims to connect the site to the web it is part of. In this respect, it reproduces the logics of the non-site but expands the concept by making the question of sponsorship central to the concept. The unsanctioned festival lasted three days, from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the 6<sup>th</sup> of December 2015. It opened with Read’s talk, which was attended by some forty people or so, including a large group of Kings College-affiliated University of California students. The talk

was followed by a smaller performance by Virtual Migrants, whose performances often explore questions of race, migration and global justice (Platform, 2015b). Their participatory performance, which consisted of excerpts of one of their shows happened on level 2 of the museum (virtualmigrants, 2018). Theatre and performance more generally played an important part in the festival: a performance of Caryl Churchill's short play on art and sponsorship was programmed on Saturday afternoon, followed by a panel that included the playwright Michael McMillan (Platform, 2015b).<sup>32</sup> Ivo Theatre performed via a live feed in the foyer of level 2 from the COP21 climate negotiations that were happening in Paris at the time. Other artistic works and interventions included Platform's alternative audio guide tour to the Tate museums, which invited audience members to move between different sites (Tate Britain, Thames and Tate Modern) while the narrative took the listener to different places across the world. The festival had also programmed seed-bombing sessions, literally taking up Cruzvillegas' original intuition about interventions made possible by his space. Finally, a giant floor mosaic showing the message DROP BP, made out of the green festival programmes, masking tape and sunflower seeds – a possible allusion to Ai Weiwei's commission that filled the space with porcelain sunflower seeds – was created by people of all ages on the mezzanine floor (Platform, 2015b).

The festival focused heavily on culture's implication in the reproduction of violence and did so in layered and multifarious ways. A number of talks, which also featured participants from Platform's radical education programme *Shake!* and ex-Tate curators, focused on the relationship between art and empire, most notably

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<sup>32</sup> See Aston and Diamond (2009) for Churchill's longstanding engagement with the questions of art, theatre and corporate sponsorship.



Tate's historical relation to slave sugar plantations. Other talks connected the oil campaign with the issue of the financial cuts, corporatisation of the arts and the ongoing strike at the National Gallery in London. The titles of events such as the 'Sisters of Perpetual Resistance', organised by young Shake members, also suggest that participants and organisers had a desire to think about the possibility to articulate environmental and decolonial struggles with feminist ones. Certain events pushed this line of questioning further, turning the critical gaze back onto itself with a workshop titled 'Who gets to change the climate?', which closed the festival. The workshop aimed to question the blind spots of the white-dominated environmental movement and its inability to connect up to anti-racist movements and causes (Platform, 2015b).

There is little doubt that all of these interventions were conceived as means to shift the consensus about the sponsorship of oil. However, what is also of note and what I would like to discuss is the materiality of the works. I would argue that the predominance of language and communication as materials mirrors the form (information) that enables the museum to become an attractive brand and asset while also providing a counterpoint to this circulation of information. In this sense, the works of the festival, which also took place in and around *Empty Lot* (2015a), can be understood to expand the materiality of Cruzvillegas' construction. Where his work figured urban form and migrancy, the festival presented the flow of information and financial assets that determine the space of the museum and Cruzvillegas' work.

A similar argument can be made about the elements of the festival that were not language-based, which is where my analysis will come to rest. On the Friday night, large prints of portrait photographs made by South African photographer

Gideon Mendel were introduced into the gallery space, about which Dawson wrote the following for the *Art* newspaper:

By the afternoon more than 200 people were participating in the festival and the Tate began to restrict its programme. Security personnel prevented the festival organisers from bringing in a collection of 44 large photographic prints from Gideon Mendel's series *Drowning World* (2007–ongoing), which depicts people in their flooded homes. The organisers were able to set up only 20 of the photographs in the hall (Dawson, 2015).

As I re-entered the gallery on the Friday night, I encountered those 20 portraits, which were propped up against the southern wall of the mezzanine space. The photographs, which were cordoned off, were printed square onto what looked like foam board or painted plywood. Mendel travels to different places in the world where major floods have occurred as a consequence of rain or severe climatic events and takes photographic portraits of people in their flooded homes and surroundings. The locations include India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Thailand, Brazil, Haiti, USA, UK and Germany. He has also made films from these journeys and has made photographic works from the flood-destroyed family photographs and memories that he finds (Gideon Mendel, no date). In the photographic images propped up against the wall of the gallery, the subjects often pose solo or in couples against an interior wall of the home or in front of an external door leading to the house. The subjects are often looking straight into the camera, while they stand knee – and sometimes waist or torso – deep in water. The murky water, which inundates the frame, gives the photo's 'ritual of solemnization and

consecration of the group and the world' (Bourdieu, 1990, p.92) an entirely different value and sense of gravitas.

Mendel's work is photojournalistic. He started as a struggle photographer in the final years of apartheid and subsequently made projects about Aids in South Africa (Mendel, 2001). In the 1990s he moved to London where he also documented anti-road struggles in which John Jordan was involved. In her book *The Civil Contract of Photography* (2008), Azoulay argues that photography can contribute to constructing a form of a transnational civil and politicised community that bears witness to sovereign violence. While her focus on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict is not entirely relevant to the topic of this chapter, this emphasis on violence, injustice and photography is absolutely relevant to Mendel's photography. His work stages the violence and destruction of climate change, with its objective and subjective facets, but the photographs also interpellate the spectators-turned-witnesses in forceful ways. Following the terms proposed by Roberts (2014), who reprises and develops Azoulay's concerns, Mendel's photojournalism could be understood as showing violence through an intrusion and interruption that is destabilising for the spectator confronted with the truth of the historical index and document. Here, we re-encounter the fundamentally 'ostensive', that is, indexical character of the artwork (2014, p.153).

The mention of indexicality, however, brings me to address more directly how Mendel's work contributes to the investigation of the gallery as site, according to the transdisciplinary conception of art explored in this thesis. As Osborne (2013) has argued, there is no one single technological basis to the ontology of the photography, which finds itself distributed across different forms and technologies, including digital and chemical processes, photography, video, and film. In this sense it cannot be considered to be a specific medium. In our time, it

has been also intimately associated, by Baudrillard (1994) and the Situationists (Knabb, 2006), with the circulation of information and capital, and in this respect it holds a paradigmatic value as a cultural form.<sup>33</sup> However, the undesirable propping up of these photographs and their out of place-ness underlines the place and function of the museum as a space that embeds these flows of information capital in a way that its painterly other – the hung photograph of the exhibition that still offers a certain experience of absorption, what Fried (1995) would call an anti-theatrical experience – does not (Fried, 2008). In doing so, the images appear to contradict the Friedian anti-theatrical idea that ‘presentness is grace’ (1995, p.147), understood as a momentary suspension of everyday relationality and time through a purified art work. By contrast, the photographs present frozen moments of crisis and catastrophe with no redemption. However, these are not only a trace or record of a past moment of time. Rather, as Roberts (2014) as well as Green and Lowry (2003) suggest, these frozen moments of time lay claim upon the real here and now by virtue of pointing to their own existence as event. The delimited singular images and forms exist in a series that are identical to the limitless images of catastrophe that the media produce (in which Mendel’s images are also circulated), and yet they retain a certain expressive force by virtue of their siting in the museum and their status as prop in the festival.

Mendel’s photographs also capture the difference between the festival as a whole and the work of Cruzvillegas in terms of how both stand in relation to the

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<sup>33</sup> It should be noted that Baudrillard is a reference in some of the resilience training I mentioned in chapter 2 (Boosting Resilience, 2017b). It features in order to explain the value of images as assets. This is also picked up and critiqued in Bourdieu and Haacke’s (1995) discussion of culture, brands and private investment.

building. Instead of maximizing the site of the museum, the festival asserts the value of democracy and civic participation, but it does so by entering into a more explicit form of antagonism with the institution, while still expressing solidarity with the institution. To make sense of this difference, is tempting to follow Bourdieu's (1993) and understand institutional consecration as a form of temporal pushing back in relation to avant-gardism. *Empty Lot* (2015a) and *Deadline* (2015a) would then appear to be coeval, yet existing within a different artistic present. However, beyond the risk of falling prey to a variant of avant-guardist Darwinism, I have already argued that the festival and the re-localisation of antagonism that it performs can be understood as both the destruction and realisation of the work's ideal. In this respect, the festival does indeed force social and artistic coeval times together in a way that was already seen during the last event of *TTMR*. However, it does so in order to construct a transnational artistic and politicised space that aims to make sense of as well as change the historical present. This constitutes a different transcultural rationale and project to the one analysed somewhat ambiguously by Osborne (2013). In order to realise this rationale and in not a dissimilar way to Lab of ii's project, the festival provides an artistic frame, a larger unit of significance for an invariably singular set of works. The ironic twist in this situation is that the unsanctioned realisation of the Cruzvillegas' ideal of the empty lot also appears to contribute to securing the gallery's contemporaneity and institutional legitimacy as a site for the production of autonomous work. This is surely in part why 20 photos presenting the destruction caused by the gallery's now former sponsors and a motley crew of activists and festival goers are allowed with much resistance to hold the space.

#### 4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I moved away from a discussion of the nature of resilience discourses and practices towards an examination of how art negates the rationales of resilience (Q.3a-b). The Tate and the works therein provided a good case study to advance this task. The analysis of these works provided me with the opportunity to explore how, in the case of the Tate, a critique of practices legitimated by dominant resilience discourses, such as private investment and corporate sponsorship, are indissociable from a critique of commercialised processes of urban redevelopment. I argued that it is the symbolic and cultural status of creative 'iconics', as theorised by writers such as Landry, that is so attractive to sponsors and investors.

After an initial analysis focused on the context and artists, the discussion concentrated on two cases, which enabled me to figure the Tate as phenomenological urban art space as well as a node within a space of 'flow'. *Empty Lot* (2015a) was initially analysed for the manner in which it presented the inequalities created and the destruction wrought by transnational capitalist urbanity as well as the possibility of bifurcation from this model of development. However, I also suggested that the site-specific rationale of *Empty Lot* (2015a) meant that the work is rendered affirmative and plays the ambivalent role of an enhancer. It is ambivalent because it is the fact that the regenerated museum and institution has become a repository of humanist public value that sponsors are attracted to it.

Without criticising Cruzvillegas' work for not including sponsorship as a material, I nevertheless turned to the *Deadline* festival, which provided the means to both realise and undo – a 'ruin in reverse', to speak in Smithsonian terms – the negative concept of non-site that was embedded in Cruzvillegas' empty lots. The

festival added another dimension to the investigation of the institution by situating itself more directly at the level of 'spaces of flow' and making sponsorship one of its artistic materials. The discussion of the various components of the festival against oil sponsorship, including Gideon Mendel's photography, advanced the discussion of art understood in non-medium specific terms. I argued that the work of the festival, animated by a will to make sense of our global contemporary and contest the oppressions that constitute it, presented within its context our collective unfreedom, and in doing so pinpointed the possibility of a limit to cruelty: a deadline, which is also a lifeline.

## 5. *Here Today..., Vita Vitale, Living Skin and Pelt*

### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter continues to examine the risks and dangers linked to sponsorship and private investment while also aiming to understand how art can position itself critically in relation to those practices. By investigating this question further and garnering more evidence to answer the third area of investigation of this thesis, I also continue to investigate the risk that art becomes affirmative, that is, that it comes to play a legitimating function vis-à-vis economic and political power (Q.3b). Like the analysis of Cruzvillegas' and Platform's work in the previous chapter, the analysis of this chapter is focused on a complex case – complex because of its composition but also because of the questions that it raises. I present the case as well as the issues briefly before going on to state more explicitly how this chapter builds on the preceding chapters.

The case in question, which I learned about during *TTMR* (2015), is the exhibition *Here Today...* (2014), which was commissioned by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) to celebrate 50 years of the existence of the IUCN Red List of endangered species. For the celebration, the curatorial collective Artwise brought together an impressive range of artists and artworks including work by Ackroyd & Harvey, Siobhan Davies, Laura Ford, Chris Jordan, Bharti Kher, Julian Perry, Mike Perry, Gavin Turk and Andy Warhol. The exhibition was spread across two floors of the Old Sorting Office, situated near the British Museum in the Holborn area of central London, and its scope was no less impressive. The exhibition was organised around eight themed chapters, which aimed to give visibility to species extinction and the violence of global warming, as



well as foreground conservation efforts and ideas that could slow climate change down and help create a more sustainable planet (Artwise Curators, 2014). While the exhibition was commissioned by the IUCN, it was funded and supported by the NGO International Dialogue for Environmental Action (IDEA) and Baku, an Azerbaijani glossy art and fashion magazine. According to the curators of the exhibition, Leyla Aliyev, the director of the NGO and editor-in-chief of Baku, is a supporter of the IUCN and has done a lot of work on environmental conservation and the protection of endangered species (Pinder, 2017b). The commissioners, according to the curators and participating artists, were delighted with the exhibition as were the funders (Pinder, 2017b, 2017c).

Despite the apparent success of the exhibition, a problem arose when the artists Heather Ackroyd and Dan Harvey (Ackroyd & Harvey) started to feel retrospectively uncomfortable about the structures of funding of the exhibition: Leyla Aliyev is the daughter of the current president of the Republic of Azerbaijan, a repressive dictatorial regime known for its corruption and abuse of human rights (Snaith, 2018; Harding and Barr, 2017). The discomfort also came from the fact that British Petroleum (BP), which leads a consortium of organisations exploiting the Caspian oil fields, has, along with European powers, a special interest in propping up the regime that it views as a backstop in troubled times. According to Hughes and Marriott (2015) from Platform, the CEO of BP himself claimed that the Deepwater Horizon disaster brought the company within three days of bankruptcy. It is partly thanks to its partnership with the Azeri government that the company managed to reassure its investors. It is after investigating this web of relations in the context of a small discussion group set up by Ackroyd & Harvey and hosted at Independent Dance in Elephant and Castle (Pinder, 2017c), that Ackroyd & Harvey decided to drop their association with the exhibition. Works

that were part of *Here Today...* (2014) went on to form the basis for *Vita Vitale* (2015), one of the two exhibitions of the Azerbaijani pavilion at the 2015 Venice Biennale. However, Ackroyd & Harvey's work, *Living Skin*, did not go on to the Venice Biennale, despite the artists having been invited to take part. Instead, they went on to create a work, *Pelt (After Living Skin)*, as a response to those events. I will also discuss this work more briefly at the end of the chapter as a means of providing more evidence for the question Q.3a.

This case is particularly interesting for a number of reasons. In the previous chapter as well as in chapter 2, I discussed the ethics and politics of funding in relation to cases (BP and Tate) about which a certain kind of consensus has formed among politically conscious cultural workers. While a number of artists and key stakeholders may hold the opposite view, artistic communities view BP sponsorship or sponsorship from arms companies as problematic. Another recent funding-related controversy testifies to this. BAE Systems, one of the largest arms firms in the world, had to withdraw as partners from The Great Exhibition of the North after artists protested against the partnership (Perraudin, 2018). While the government minister for the Northern Powerhouse branded the protesting artists 'snowflakes' and 'subsidy addicted' (Perraudin, 2018, no pagination), the protests indicated a certain level of consciousness about these issues among cultural workers and artists. The case that I discuss in this chapter shares a number of characteristics with those more well-known cases, while also being more complex. The added complexity derives partly from the fact that the exhibition was commissioned by a non-governmental organisation to muster support for a pressing environmental cause that all the participating artists and curators were committed to. It also derives from the fact that the web of relations and

associations that Ackroyd & Harvey felt uncomfortable about is, in appearance at least, thicker than in the other cases mentioned here.

While helping me to garner additional evidence relating to the affirmative and negatively autonomous status of art, this last case will also provide the opportunity to extend the analysis beyond the walls of the museum and gallery in order to include the discussion of a transnational exhibition, which ended up forming the basis of a Venice Biennale pavilion exhibition. The analysis of Ackroyd and Harvey's work will also pick up where the last chapter left off. *Living Skin* (2014), made for the celebration of the creation of the IUCN list as well as 20 years of collaboration between the artists, is photographic. *Pelt (After Living Skin)* (2015), which will also give me the opportunity to return to the question of the contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous and theatricality, is as well.

While questions of urbanity will not be absent from the analysis, it is questions of conservation, cultural and natural heritage, as well as tourism, which also conform according to Yúdice (2003) to the logics of culture-as-resource, which will bear on the discussion of private investment and of the affirmative character of art. Art, conservation and heritage will also be shown to be attractive to sponsors in need of legitimacy in a way that parallels how regenerated architectural iconics and symbols of creativity become so. The analysis will also address how art, conservation and heritage is also a key area of economic activity, which goes beyond a question of accrual of symbolic capital for sponsors. It should also be noted that, as in the last chapter, resilience discourses in policy will not form an important part of this chapter, although I learned about this case during the TTMR event at which Ackroyd & Harvey made a presentation. However, as in Cruzvillegas' *Empty Lot*, ideas of resilience and sustainability will be encountered as conceptual materials of Ackroyd & Harvey's work, conceived as an ode to the

resilience of the endangered tiger as well as in the wider exhibition, which was dedicated to issues of conservation and sustainability.

Before I finish this introduction, it is worth mentioning that, on account of the high levels of personal investment of the curators and artists, the event caused some sorrow and unease. This also makes writing about this case more difficult. I have studied this case by using online documentation and catalogues generously provided to me by the curators, as well as through interviews and conversations with three artists (including Ackroyd & Harvey) and the curators. Unlike the other chapters, I will be more frequently referencing some of the interviews. Finally, in this chapter, a discussion of relations of production and context, more generally, dominates. In this sense, it returns to a mode of inquiry that characterised the second chapter. This decision was made on account of what I perceived to be the more complex and contradictory character of the case.

After giving an overview of the work of the artists and curators, including the original commission, which formed the basis of the work that Ackroyd & Harvey presented during *Here Today...* (2014). I discuss the exhibition as well as, more briefly, *Vita Vitale* (2015). In the second part, I discuss the issues that arose in relation to the funding as well as the relation of the funders to the art and the implication of this relation for the art. Finally, the analysis finishes with a third, briefer part that functions as an epilogue to the chapter in which I will give a briefer account of Ackroyd & Harvey's artistic response to the event.

## **5.2 Artists, curators, commissioners and supporters**

### **5.2.1 Ackroyd & Harvey**

Ackroyd & Harvey started collaborating in the early nineties (Pinder, 2017c).

Previous to that, Heather Ackroyd worked closely as a performer with a number of

performance companies and practitioners, including Leeds-based Impact Theatre Co-operative, The People Show and Gary Stevens. She continued collaborating with Graeme Miller who was a founding member of Impact Theatre (Ackroyd and Harvey, 2017). Dan Harvey was always more closely associated to the world of fine arts in which he trained. He nevertheless worked in proximity to performance processes early on in his career as he was part of the specialised prop-making and visual construction team on a number of Peter Greenaway film productions (Ackroyd and Harvey, 2017). Early on in their partnership, the duo made a lot of time-based work using grass, which, both artists state in an interview, was a material they were both interested in prior to collaborating together (Barnes, 2001). Early commissions and solo projects included the *Grass House* (1991), commissioned by Time Based Arts based in Hull. Video documentation of the piece shows the artists smearing the walls and features of an abandoned house on Westbourne Avenue with clay and seedlings. With time the façade turns into a lush green surface, which momentarily regenerated the derelict building (Time Based Arts, 2008). According to the artists, early experiments with growing indoor and outdoor grass environments led to a serendipitous realisation that grass had incredibly rich photographic potential on account of its organic power of photosynthesis (Barnes, 2001). One of their first collaborations experimenting with grass and photosynthesis was a project titled *Grass Coats* (1991), made for the Lynx anti-fur campaign. The tiger stripe effect typical of fur coats was rendered through a controlled production of chlorophyll that denied light to certain areas of the grass (Pinder, 2017b).

The other early work worth mentioning is *Living Skins* (1992), which was presented at the Serpentine Gallery as part of a live art festival. The commission consisted of a number of pieces, including interiors walls, floors and objects sewn

with grass. Images of animals (a snake and a tiger) were also projected onto the growing seedlings and fixed onto the grass for the duration of the festival, following a similar process to the grass coats. The time-based works, like their other works, played with the ideas of life and death, growth and decay, creation and destruction. The works only lasted the duration of the festival as the materials were subject to natural decay and moulding. For the artists, the process of generating images through the control of the organic processes of photosynthesis also has a relation to photography's capacity to capture a lost moment, functioning as an index or trace of time. Heather Ackroyd says:

Something that I find very interesting is this notion of a stolen moment in the photograph. We are bringing that moment back to life in the grass with a kind of bio-chemical conjuring. The image slowly becomes manifest, but its only through the action of life that we can resurrect that lost moment. But then it will only be in that state for a short while (Barnes, 2001, p.71).

The status of transience and time in their work changed when during the mid-nineties, the artists working in collaboration with scientists developed a strain of 'staygreen' grass capable of fixing images and hold contrasts more durably (Antonini et al., 2015). This discovery led the artists to work with large-scale grass photography and portraiture which they have, like their architectural work with grass, become famous for. The artists have, since the invention of the 'staygreen' grass, also revived and regrown *Living Skin* (2002) for the exhibition *Traits of Life* (2002) that took place at the Exploratorium, a science museum in San Francisco (Exploratorium, no date).

The projects and works made by Ackroyd & Harvey are too numerous to mention or review in any kind of significant detail. However, it is worth mentioning that they continued to work on medium- to large-scale grass-based architectural projects, which included covering the National Theatre's fly tower in grass in 2007 (Gill, 2014). Their architectural work overlaps with the Beuys-inspired practice of social sculpture mentioned in chapter 3. They referenced Beuys directly in their *Beuys' Acorns* (2007), an ode to Beuys' seminal *7000 Oaks* (1982) for which the artists gathered 300 acorns from the trees planted by Beuys in Kassel in Germany during the art fair Documenta in order to grow a new generation of living, slow-growing sculptures. They also continued to work at the frontiers between art and natural and climate sciences, working with a range of institutions, including UCL and Cambridge (Ackroyd and Harvey, 2017). The artists also filmed *The Ecocide Trial* (2012), a mock trial about an environmental disaster staged as if London's Supreme Court had already adopted the crime of ecocide as the fifth crime against peace (Dan Harvey, 2018). Finally, the artists have also been involved in the environmental campaign to save Leith Hill, close to their home in Surrey, from drilling by Europa Oil (Pinder, 2017b).

However brief this presentation of Ackroyd & Harvey's work may be, the Beuys connection as well as the cross-disciplinary and cross-medium character of their work, more generally, suggests that their art can be situated within the lineage of art that I have foregrounded throughout the two preceding chapters of this thesis. The next section looks at the work of Artwise, the curators of the exhibitions.

### 5.2.2 Artwise

The collective, set up in 1996 by Susie Allen, works with a range of clients, including corporates, charities and private collectors for whom the collective work as consultants but also as curators for bespoke projects (Artwise, 2018). Artwise were selected to curate *Here Today...* (2014) on account of their past work with the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF). They organised two exhibitions and events titled *WWF Pandamonium* (2012, 2009), which aimed to support the work of the charity and spread awareness about how climate change affects life and endangered species. According to the website, the first *Pandamonium* (2009) invited artists, including Peter Blake, Tracey Emin, and Rachel Whitehead to create works out of old panda (money) collection boxes, which were then auctioned (Artwise, 2018). For *Pandamonium 2* (2012), artists including Zaha Hadid and Richard Wilson were invited to make performative wearable sculptures that highlighted different environmental concerns. The sculptures were showcased at an open-air event hosted by Grayson Perry in Hyde Park in May 2012 (Artwise, 2018). The curatorial collective's work about environmental and conservation extends beyond charity. They most recently curated a show titled *Watershed* (2015) that brought together 15 artists at the Hall Place & Gardens in Bexley to explore water as a resource. The artist Laura Ellen Bacon was the first artist in residence in the summer of that year.

Artwise's public facing engagement extends to its collaborations with more corporate clients, offering their curatorial services to enhance marketing and communication campaigns. This approach is clearly visible in the case of the WWF exhibitions, which used culture as a resource to drum up support for the WWF. However, a similar rationale guided their project *Fiat 500 Collectors Car* (2007). The collective was commissioned by the strategic development and media firm



Beat Capital to devise an art project for the preview of the new Fiat 500 and the celebration of the model's 50th anniversary, which according to the website, also positioned 'the Italian brand in the UK as an iconic and influential player within the world of art and design' (Artwise, 2018, no pagination). Emin customised a fleet of cars with vinyl drawings. The cars were then used as pop-up, nomadic exhibitions to carry artists, collectors and VIP guests to parties, openings, art fairs and auctions that took place during the Frieze Art Fair. According to the website, one of the four vehicles was auctioned through the auction house Phillips de Pury, raising £200,000 for PEAS, a charity that promotes equality in African schools (Artwise, 2018).

The collective has also worked as curators for a range of corporate clients, including British Airways (BA) and Mercedes-Benz, organising corporate exhibitions and building corporate collections. The blurb on the website giving details of their collaboration with BA states the following:

Back in 1996 BA recognized the potential that art could play in its re-branding: increasing brand awareness and creating a new contemporary (and British) image for the company. Artwise's aim for BA was to establish a series of long-term strategies and a programme of diverse artist-led initiatives incorporating the company's goals that would include both customers and staff. It needed to reflect the world-class status of the company and to demonstrate its innovation and leadership within the industry, through its art (Artwise, 2018, no pagination).

This description fits the rationale discussed at different points in this thesis, which sees art as a means to enhance the work environment or corporate premises as well as to promote corporate brands and images. Cultural goods, as DiMaggio

suggests, 'are consumed for what they say about their consumers to themselves and to others', which include the customers of BA, their staff as well as their leadership (1991, p.133). For Mercedes-Benz, the artist Paul Veroude was commissioned to create an installation that featured one of Michael Schumacher's Formula 1 vehicles deconstructed and hung mid-air on a series of wires. It gave the guests visiting the brand experience centre of the Mercedes-Benz World exhibition an insight into Formula 1's industry secrets and helped the company to weave a unique narrative about its brand and processes (Artwise, 2018).

Finally, Artwise have also curated exhibitions hosted at Lloyd's of London with a 'community' programme funded by Arts & Business. The exhibition, which coincided with the 200-year commemoration of the Battle of Trafalgar, showcased a range of artefacts associated with Lord Nelson and part of the Lloyd's of London collection (Artwise, 2018). At the launch of the exhibition, a piece by American composer David Lang was premiered. The composer teamed up with Peter Greenaway and the London Sinfonietta in an audio-visual performance inspired by Nelson's 'tradition of innovation, risk-taking and the sea' (Artwise, 2018). This mix of heritage and cutting-edge artistic experimentation by world-renowned international artists appears to mix the ethos of the corporate museum, the function of which is to display objects that in some way recount the history or interests of the company, with a more recent model of corporate exhibitions, which emerged in the 1980s and 1990s. According to Wu (2002), these may be less directly linked to the history of the company in question, and instead appear to be more strictly concerned with presenting aesthetic objects and experiences in order to present the company as a legitimate and enlightened patron of the arts.

Artwise's history and work, like those of Ackroyd & Harvey, are too long and diverse to do full justice to their breadth in this brief overview. Nonetheless, some

of the characteristics that I have presented here will also be present in the projects that I discuss in this chapter, the first of which (*Here Today...*) was publicised and marketed by the public relations company Freud's. In order to bring this first part to a close I turn to the commissioners and sponsors of the exhibition, starting with the IUCN.

### **5.2.3 The supporters and commissioners**

My presentation of the IUCN will be brief as I am less concerned with their work in this discussion. However, presenting the organisation will also help to establish how discourses and practices of sustainability formed a component of the project. The IUCN, founded in 1948, is apparently the world's oldest and largest environmental organisation. Conservation is a key element of its work as the existence of the Red List testifies (Artwise Curators, 2014). According to the IUCN, the Red List is the most comprehensive source of information about 'the global conservation status of animal, fungi and plant species and their links to livelihoods' (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.11). It is used by a ranged of non-governmental organisations as well as governmental agencies, policy-makers and planners to catalyse conservational action. Despite many areas of life and species being comprehensively assessed, through cultural events such as *Here Today...* (2014), the IUCN was also aiming to use culture to drum up more support and investment to expand the work of assessment and its taxonomic coverage.

Leyla Aliyev offered to support the exhibition via International Dialogue for Environmental Action (IDEA), her own non-governmental organisation that was, according to the curators, the main funder for *Here Today...* (Pinder, 2017b). IDEA also funded elements of *Vita Vitale* (2015), the principal funder of which was the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, a philanthropic foundation set up in honour of the first

president of Azerbaijan and headed by Leyla Aliyev's mother, the First Lady of Azerbaijan. I will not delve into the detail of the political and economic ambivalences that have become tied to the support structures at this point as this will be an issue that I explore in the course of the second part of the chapter.

However, it is worth stating that despite the curators' willingness to engage with the question of funding during the interview, it is still not entirely clear to me how the exhibition was funded, as the information that I have gathered from different places about the funding structures is not consistent. In the catalogue of *Here Today...* (2014), all the above organisations are credited except the Heydar Aliyev Foundation. However, on the last page it is stated that the exhibition was supported by Baku magazine only (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.163). What organisational support means is never specified. By contrast, in an anniversary report celebrating IDEA's five years of existence, the Heydar Aliyev Foundation is also mentioned as a 'partner' alongside Baku and the IUCN (IDEA, no date, p.74). These inconsistencies might only be mistakes in the copy or information circulated. Nonetheless, they highlight, like in the case of *Shibboleth* (2007) and Tate discussed in the previous chapter, a certain opacity when it comes to money and its exact institutional provenance. Leyla Aliyev, the eldest daughter of the president of Azerbaijan and granddaughter of Heydar Aliyev, is the head of IDEA, editor-in-chief of Baku and vice-president of the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, the foundation set up by her family. One can, therefore, presume, given the ties of the three organisations to Leyla Aliyev and her historical support for the IUCN, that she and her family effectively financed, via their own projects and organisations, the exhibitions in which Aliyev also exhibited her own artistic work (Pinder, 2017b). I will now proceed to present briefly the work of IDEA, Baku and the Heydar Aliyev Foundation.

IDEA was launched by Aliyev in 2011 with the aim of promoting public awareness about and actively leading on the environmental issues in Azerbaijan and globally. In this sense, IDEA appears to be a vehicle for bringing sustainability discourses and campaigns to the fore in Azerbaijan through educational and cultural events, which in turn helps to put Azerbaijan on the map with regards to these issues. For example, in 2012, it held an essay competition that invited young Azeris to send their messages to the 2012 Rio de Janeiro conference on sustainable development as part of a wider national youth engagement programme that was set up in the run-up to the conference. It also runs other regular educational events, such as summer schools, lectures, debates and international camps for young environmental activists. As well as tree-planting projects, the organisation has also launched a campaign in collaboration with the ministry of ecology and natural resources to resettle a number of endangered species, including the goitered gazelle. An art exhibition dedicated to endangered species was also organised and supported by IDEA, among a number of other artistic events and festival in Azerbaijan and internationally (IDEA, no date, no pagination).

Baku, the other supporter of the exhibition, was launched in 2007 and was first published in Moscow in order, according to Hughes and Marriott (2015), to enhance Russian and Azeri ties. Since 2011, it has also been published in London by the same company that publishes Vogue and GQ. The magazine, the tagline and subtitle of which are 'the online magazine about everything' and 'ART. CULTURE. WILD', reflects the interests of its editor-in-chief (Condé Nast, 2017, no pagination): the magazine includes features and articles about art, fashion, conservation, and luxury products among other things.

The Heydar Aliyev Foundation was set up in 2004 in honour of the deceased first president of the republic of Azerbaijan and the father of the current president,

Ilham Aliyev. The organisation, headed by Mehriban Aliyev, supports a range of cultural, educational and health projects. The Foundation has funded the construction of a museum of modern art in Baku as well as numerous art and music events, including showcases of Azeri art and music in Moscow. As well as organising numerous international conferences with international organisations such as UNESCO, as well as corporations such as Intel and Microsoft, the Foundation has funded a number of projects outside of Azerbaijan. It helped finance the renovations of the Louvre museum and the Palace of Versailles in France; as thanks, the first lady was awarded a Legion of Honour by the then French president Sarkozy. The Foundation also funded the restoration of the catacombs in the Vatican (Wikipedia, 2018f).

### **5.3 Art, extinction, conservation and affirmative culture**

#### **5.3.1 The exhibitions**

*Here Today...* (2014) took place at the Old Sorting Office in Holborn, which has now been renamed and converted into offices by Brockton Capital and Oxford Properties (Oxford properties, no date). The building, which has been advertised as a 'post-industrial building of epic scale and volume in the heart of creative London', has 11 levels, although only two of them were used for the exhibition (Pinder, 2017b). According to the curators, the space was chosen for a number of reasons. Although nothing could be hung from the walls, the space, situated between High Holborn, New Oxford Street and Museum Street, is central and conveniently located. It was also available at the time that they needed it, as the exhibition coincided with a ball that the IUCN was hosting for its members. The IUCN wanted to give attendees the opportunity to attend the exhibition as well (Pinder, 2017b).

Given the particular nature of the space, the exhibition space was made immersive (attendees walked through a series of spaces that made up the path through the different chapters) through a theatrical use of lighting, designed by Tupac Martir of Satore Studios, as well as the construction of enclosed spaces and rooms (Pinder, 2017b; Artwise Curators, 2014). The exhibition, structured around eight chapters, is too vast to cover comprehensively in this chapter. For this reason, I propose to concentrate on a few works from three of the zones including the opening, the second chapter ('human footprint') and the fifth chapter ('hunted species'), which featured one of Ackroyd & Harvey's works (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.7).

The exhibition opened with ten silkscreen prints of endangered animals made by Andy Warhol in 1983 (Artwise Curators, 2014). The prints were hung on three of the walls of the first exhibition space. To the right of this deep purple space, visitors encountered images of an African elephant, a giant panda, a pine barrens tree frog and a Grevy's zebra (Journal of Baku, 2013). To the left were images of a Siberian tiger, an orangutan, a black rhino, and a silverspot butterfly. Straight ahead, on each side of the door frame leading into the next space, were a bighorn ram and a bald eagle. The prints were commissioned to raise awareness about endangered species. To achieve this, Warhol employed his signature style of portraiture more famously used for celebrities and glamorous clients: Each animal was rendered in bright and vivid colours that resulted, according to the catalogue, in an ennobling of the animals, which Warhol referred to as 'animals with make-up' (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.22).

The curators commissioned Gavin Turk – one of seven or eight artists to have been commissioned (Pinder, 2017b) – to respond to the prints, which he did by creating *Pandy Warhol* (2014), consisting of strips of wallpaper appropriating the

Warhol pop art motif that highlighted the plight of the panda and also functioned as an ode to the dead artist. The wallpaper that made up the second space of the exhibition and opened onto the rest of the exhibition captures how the idea of immersiveness supported the environmental concerns and themes of the exhibition. The use of wallpaper provided a way of pointing to the interdependencies of human and non-human habitats, the domestic and the 'wild', culture and nature, while playfully bringing to the fore the plight of the panda through the language of pop art and celebrity culture, which underlines the discrepancy between the cultural and symbolic value that we attribute to the animal and its actual historical conditions of existence. Turk's commission also provided a way of gesturing to intergenerational awareness-raising and solidarity with the IUCN cause among artists as well as to the change and continuity in the status of the endangered species originally represented by Warhol (Pinder, 2017b). Attendees could also find another work at the centre of Turk's space, originally commissioned for *WWF Pandamonium* (2009). *Between a Rock & a Hard Place* (2008) is a rock made out of painted resin with the artist's signature on it. The signature and stone function as an allusion to a tombstone and the death of a species (Artwise Curators, 2014). Yet, the work appears to underline how art can act as a keystone in the protection of the panda, otherwise threatened by human civilisation.

Chapter 2 of the exhibition was dedicated the human footprint on the environment, which formed the basis of the theme of the *Vita Vitale* (2015) exhibition. Ten artists contributed works to this zone, which visitors would have walked into immediately upon exiting Turk's open space. I would like to mention and contrast only two of the works that visitors will have found to their left. The first work was a series of three photographs made by the artist Chris Jordan; these



were part of a larger series called *Midway: Message from the Gyre* (2009). The photographs were taken on the remote island of Midway Atoll situated in the middle of the Pacific, north-west of Hawaii. The island is not home to humans but to a million albatrosses. Adult albatrosses mistake plastic trash floating on the sea for food and feed it to their young, slowly killing them in the process. The photographs document this occurrence by showing a corpse of a bird at different stages of decomposition. The less there is left of the bird, the more the plastic that was lodged inside the bird reveals itself. In a similar way to Mendel's photographs discussed in the previous chapter, the emotionally charged documents bear witness to an intolerable historical reality while also summoning the spectator as witness to this destruction, which the spectator partakes in by simply living in a culture dominated by plastic and oil (Artwise Curators, 2014).

Mike Perry's work *Mor Plastig* (2014) could not be more different, despite being concerned with a similar subject. The work consists of a series of ten photographs of flip-flops in various states of decomposition and mutation, which he found on different beaches around the world. The 1:1 scale, high-resolution photos were taken in Perry's studio using a very neutral light, which produces an objective quality to the image, as if he were documenting the remains of a fallen civilisation (Perry, 2018; Pinder, 2017c). The seriality, objectivity and minimalism of the photos appear to do away with any sense of expression and aestheticism, refracting instead the commodified form of objects that have travelled the world through the sea. However, the erosion of the plastic flip-flops, the incrustation of shells, and the discoloration and formation of new colours, shapes and lines on their surface give the flip-flops an eerie expressivity, which reveals nature to be the ultimate designer of singular specimens of art (Perry, 2018).

After the first chapter, visitors made their way through a zone titled 'Plants & Trees – Birds & Bees' (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.57), which opened with Leyla Aliyev's own work titled *Life* as well as another zone titled 'Climate Change & Loss of Natural Habitat' (Artwise Curators, 2014, p.59, p.73). At the centre of this last zone, visitors encountered a scattered group of penguin sculptures made by Laura Ford; these resembled people dressed as lost penguins in search of a new floe (Journal of Baku, 2013). Ackroyd & Harvey's work that I will discuss was part of the fifth zone, which was dedicated to hunted species. *Living Skin* (2014) was a recreation of the original *Living Skins* (1992), previously discussed. This iteration was made using Staygreen seedlings. The work consists of a four-metre long, taut tiger hide made out of stencilled, green grass grown hydroponically on a hessian skin. Through a process of photosynthesis and by controlling light exposure through the use of stencils, the artists imprinted stripes of different shades onto the green grass. Once the process of photosynthesis had taken place, the skin pattern was maintained by low exposure to light. This process resulted in the creation of a lush living skin stretched over and held by wooden beams rigged to the floor. Producing a new iteration of the work was a way of highlighting the plight of the Siberian tigers and their resilience as well as an occasion for the artists to celebrate two decades of collaborating together. This gesture also befitted an exhibition concerned with sustainability, intergenerational awareness-raising and solidarity with the IUCN cause (Pinder, 2017b, 2017c; Nik Sire Films, 2014).

The presentation of *Here Today...* (2014) stops here, although I will return to Ackroyd & Harvey's work at the end of this chapter. I will give now a very brief overview of *Vita Vitale* (2015). The curatorial collective used *Here Today...* (2014) as a basis for *Vita Vitale*. A number of works from the London exhibition went to

Venice, including the work of Khalil Chishtee; Gordon Cheung; Laura Ford; Chris Jordan, Rebecca Clark and Helena Eitel; Julian Perry; Mike Perry; and Diana Thater (Heydar Aliyev Foundation, 2015). According to the curators, the main funder for the second exhibition was the Heydar Aliyev Foundation, while IDEA supported the IDEA Laboratory curated by Professor Rachel Armstrong (Pinder, 2017b). The laboratory testifies to the seriousness of the engagement with issue of climate change. Armstrong states that it aimed to begin to imagine ‘a radical new synthesis with the natural realm’ through a dialogue between art and science (Heydar Aliyev Foundation, 2015, p.117). For instance, the laboratory featured photosynthetic technologies made of silk protein and chloroplasts, which were combined for the occasion with shape-memory metals that respond to changes in the environment and which served to protect (shade) the lab, while producing oxygen at the same time (Heydar Aliyev Foundation, 2015). In a different register, Mike Perry presented specimens of plastiglomerates, which he collected along various coasts. The conglomerates of plastics that take the appearance of coal have in fact been eroded and shaped into existence by the sea. The architect Azusa Murakami and the artist Alexander Grove also presented beach chairs made out of plastics collected on beaches, which were moulded into shape by a device that uses the magnified rays of the sun (Heydar Aliyev Foundation, 2015).

I acknowledge that the work presented during *Vita Vitale* (2015) deserves a more thorough discussion. However, I am less interested in discussing the actual works than in formally establishing the relation between the two exhibitions for a discussion of artwork’s autonomy. The question of transnationalism and the art industry is arguably already visible in the case of *Here Today...* (2014). However, the relationship between both exhibitions enables my analysis to integrate the discussion of a cultural form (the exhibition) that embodies (and not only embeds)

what I termed in the preceding chapter ‘spaces of flow’ (information, people, money) while also allowing me to connect art and culture to the question of heritage and tourism. These provide the social conditions of possibility for establishing art’s autonomy or lack of. The next part examines in more detail the social relations underpinning *Here Today...* (2014) and *Vita Vitale* (2015), which were both the subject of controversy.

### **5.3.2 The Aliyevs, art and conservation**

Most participants did not feel discomfort about the nature of the support structure.

The curators reiterated this to me in an email:

However, the consensus from (most of) the artists at the close of the show was that we had succeeded in putting together a meaningful exhibition that genuinely raised questions about the environment, the state of our planet and the hand that we as humans have in that. The IUCN were delighted with the awareness it brought to their organisation and cause. We found Leyla and her organisations IDEA and Baku Magazine professional and good to work with as were Freuds who were our ongoing point of contact (Artwise Curators, 2018).

While I have no reason to doubt this, it is still interesting to delve into the reasons why Ackroyd & Harvey felt uncomfortable enough about the discrepancy between the aims and values of the exhibition and the reality of its infrastructure to constitute a working group to unpick the issue. In fact, it is a necessary step for understanding the particular set of issues that arose, which relate directly the discussion of the risks and dangers linked to an intensification of private investment in the arts legitimated by resilience agendas.

Ackroyd and Harvey began to feel sometime after the exhibition's opening (Pinder, 2017b). One of the key issues that arose through conversation with others was the repressive character of a regime headed by Leyla Aliyev's father. The second, related issue, just as important, was that the regime, which has been in place since the transition of post-Soviet Azerbaijan, is directly linked to the exploitation of oil resources in the Caspian Sea in which multinational corporations such as BP and Amoco, but also the European Union and the United Kingdom, have a special interest. BP has been the key partner in the post-Soviet development of the Caspian Oil fields, which have been providing Europe with oil since 1994 (Marriott and Minio-Palluelo, 2012). According to Hughes and Marriott (2015), European public money has been invested in the development of what is sometimes known as the Euro-Caspian Mega Pipeline, which will run from Azerbaijan through Georgia, Turkey, Greece, Albania and Italy. The \$45 billion project is also set to be extended to other countries in Eastern Europe, the Balkans and Austria. According to Platform members (2015), the project will leave a 4,000-kilometre-long highly protected security corridor throughout Europe, which will cause large-scale population displacements as well as destruction of human and non-human habitats. Crucially, the whole project also goes against the EU's current commitments to reduce carbon emissions by 80% by 2050.

This web of relations brings the analysis back to the notion of the carbon web, the set of institutions that drive 'forward the extraction, transportation, and consumption of fossil fuels' (Marriott and Minio-Panuelo, 2012, p.16). The web includes governments and governmental departments, industry partners of all kinds including universities, and a range of financial institutions, as well as what Marriott and Minio-Panuelo (2012, p.179) call 'external affairs', which include cultural institutions and also NGOs. This web of economic and political ties also

feeds the personal enrichment of elites in the UK, Europe and Azerbaijan.

According to the *Guardian*, the Azeri leadership ran a \$2.9 billion scheme to bribe European politicians, launder money through a network of British companies (on account of the UK's light regulation) and buy luxury goods, which presumably also included art (Harding and Barr, 2017). The bribing of a number of former members of Council of Europe's parliamentary assembly (the Council of Europe is an international organisation dedicated the defense of human rights) came at a time when the country was coming under fire for its repression of human rights activists. This exercise in 'caviar diplomacy' resulted in the Council of Europe's parliament voting against a report that was critical of the country (Harding and Barr, 2017, no pagination). Close to half a million euros were also paid out for what was allegedly private consulting to a board member of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which is helping to finance the Euro-Caspian Mega Pipeline (Harding and Barr, 2017). This individual, who denies all accusations of corruption, happens to be the husband of the director-general of UNESCO, who bestowed on the first lady of Azerbaijan UNESCO's highest medal of honour. He also inaugurated an exhibition on Azerbaijan and religious tolerance at UNESCO's headquarters, which was funded by the Heydar Aliyev Foundation (Harding and Barr, 2017). Added to all of this is the personal wealth that the Aliyevs have accrued by siphoning off Azeri oil wealth to off-shore accounts, via the UK, and/or investing them in all sorts of assets, including bonds, equities and property (Hughes and Marriott, 2015)

I imagine that these are some of the issues discussed during the artist working group Ackroyd & Harvey set up at Independent Dance in Elephant & Castle (Pinder, 2017c). These issues rejoin the problems I have been discussing in the earlier part of this thesis, including the dual character – infrastructural

(economic/ecological) and superstructural (political and ideological) – of violence that characterise our transnational context. But these issues and realities were made all the more acute given the subject of the exhibition.

While these issues are perhaps not unfamiliar from the discussions in the preceding chapters, the layered character of the situation and set of relations warrant further analysis. I will do so by revisiting arguments that I developed previously relating to the accrual of socio-symbolic capital of elites, but also by deepening an engagement with how economies of art, conservation and heritage reproduce this web of power.

As already suggested, it is possible to posit artistic events and institutions as well as NGOs as forming part of the carbon web. The actors of these institutions may not think themselves as drivers of crude extraction or climate change. However, they become, wittingly or not, part of it through relations of sponsorship that allow the sponsors and related parties to use culture as a resource to accrue social and symbolic capital. What differs markedly in this case, as opposed to the previous chapter, is the direct political dimension. While Leyla Aliyev is not the president of Azerbaijan, her political, organisational and familial ties effectively make an event such as *Here Today...* (2014) into an exercise of soft diplomacy, which helps to uphold the regime's image, reputation and standing in the world, regardless of her personal affinity with the environmental cause. Such exercises are performed by all countries through governmental and semi- or non-governmental agencies. In the UK, the British Council, whose mission is, in part, to promote British culture abroad is a good example of this. For the Azeri government, a number of such bodies exist that aim to build political alliances and relations through culture. These include the Heydar Aliyev Foundation and Baku magazine. As Hughes and Marriott (2015) have shown, one-off events and

spectaculars such as the Baku Games in 2015 or art exhibitions such as *Here Today...* (2014) have a similar function.

On this basis, the art of *Here Today...* (2014) acquires an affirmative status: like in the preceding chapter, the art is autonomous and free (it is even cutting edge, as the exhibitions and laboratories demonstrate), yet it ends up playing an ambiguous part in legitimising economic and political power, despite also being a resource in environmental awareness-raising.

Nature, heritage and conservation have a similar status. Sponsors seek an association with these as they stand in for objects and quasi-persons that are generally thought to be in need of protection from commodification. Such an association has the virtue of making their patrons appear to be humanists and humanitarians concerned with maintaining the boundaries of commodification, while partaking quite liberally in its transgression of these boundaries.<sup>34</sup> Commodification is never very far. One only has to take a look at the various initiatives associated with Leyla Aliyev, Baku magazine being perhaps the best example. The magazine is replete with articles and features about cultural and sporting events, fashion and celebrities, lifestyle advice and advertisements for luxuries aimed at the super rich. The magazine also includes articles about environmental conservation (for example, sustainable caviar and biodiversity) and Azeri national heritage and contemporary art, which produce narratives of national authenticity but also exclusivity.

Other events and initiatives mix this concern for luxury, heritage, culture and diplomacy in different ways and measures. Aliyev's artwork and paintings have

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<sup>34</sup> It would be interesting to develop the theatrical dimension to this association with animals, in particular, in relation to questions of sovereignty (Orozco, 2013).



formed the basis of creations by Mayfair-based fine jeweller Stephen Webster, the results of which formed the basis of an exhibition held in Baku. *Fly to Baku* (2012), an exhibition about Azeri contemporary art, was hosted in London at Philippe De Pury & Company before touring different European cities, including Paris, Berlin and Moscow. It was curated by Herve Mikaeloff, who works as an adviser to and curator for the LVMH (Louis Vuitton) group. Employing such a figure to curate an exhibition that was, as far as I understand, an exercise in soft diplomacy points once again to a certain proximity between the strategies and tactics used by the powerhouses of high-end fashion and today's political elites. As Wu (2017) suggests, the fashion world's (Prada and Louis Vuitton) often very costly integration and promotion of high art does not always have a direct financial benefit. However, through the distinction and differentiation (as opposed to standardisation) that these objects bring, the reputation and standing of patrons eager to keep a legitimate place among the global elites is, in effect, enhanced.

Finally, something similar is at work in the biennale exhibition, which is amongst other things a channel for the promotion of Azerbaijan as a tourist destination. The second exhibition of the pavilion, *Beyond the Line* (2015), was dedicated to the art of historical Azeri avant-gardes sidelined during the repressive Soviet regime. Past political art was for the occasion reframed as national, bourgeois heritage, producing, in the process, a narrative of cultural authenticity as well as most probably increasing the global market value of hitherto less well-known artists. Once again, this affirmative becoming of avant-garde art can be understood from the point of view of the collector as a Bourdieusian strategy of distinction. Raising the price of the works may have been one of its effects, although I have not conducted research to try to verify this. More fundamentally, however, *Beyond the Line* (2015), curated in collaboration with the collector and

auctioneer Simon De Pury, expanded the history of art by putting Azerbaijan on the map of today's art market. The combination of historical art with a distinctly Azeri flavour and an exhibition bringing together a host of contemporary artists from all over the world could only have enhanced Azerbaijan's claim to modernity, perhaps best summarised by the Heydar Aliyev Centre's (an award-winning exhibition centre in Baku) nationalist motto, 'To the Future with Values!' (Heydar Aliyev Centre, 2018).

In the analysis above, I have re-presented why and how art, heritage and conservation become socially and economically attractive to sponsors as well as how art, heritage and conservation play a reconciling and legitimising function in this context. While many of the artists as well as curators may think that their duties do not go beyond the need to valorise the art or the cause they are supporting, the issues explored above nevertheless raise a number of quite serious questions, which also appear to lead my analysis beyond questions of legitimisation. As already suggested in the previous paragraph, the cultural complex that I discuss above suggests that the accrual of socio-symbolic capital through sponsorship is also linked to a larger economy of art (for example, the Venice biennale), conservation and tourism, which in part supports the creation of a greener world while also constituting a strategy for the diversification of economic income away from oil and gas for the Azeri government. However, it is also apparent that these economies also contribute to feeding economies, including those of biennales, whose wider impact goes directly against the aims of the IUCN. In this sense, the contradiction that art partakes in and helps to sustain, that is, smooth over and exacerbate, runs deep in the set of social relations discussed.

The next section continues to discuss the problems raised by the case by revisiting some of the objections and questions raised by people who did not dissociate themselves from the exhibition.

### **5.3.3 The troubled waters of art's ideal**

The question of autonomous art also touches on the question of censorship, the absence of which was given by a number of non-dissenting parties as a reason for continuing with the exhibitions (Pinder 2017a, 2017c). Indeed, the exhibitions included many works that were potentially confrontational for the funders (Chris Jordan's photographs, for example). The curators also affirm that, while they asked the sponsors some hard questions, the sponsors were always open to dialogue (Pinder, 2017a). I have no reason to think that this is untrue or doubt the genuineness of the curators who I believe performed their curatorial duties with care and achieved results that are probably the envy of most curators. However, asking hard questions does not mean that a certain kind of censorship is not at work. As Wu (2002) suggests, censorship does not necessarily need to be frontal (although, according to my interviews, it appears that a more frontal kind of censorship would have produced a certain consensus among cultural workers). After the interview, I was also left wondering whether the curators would have included a work akin to the conceptual mappings produced by Platform (the carbon web) or the conceptual artist Hans Haacke detailing how species extinction might be directly linked to oil exploitation around the world, including Azerbaijan. My guess is that they would not. In fact, they did not, which suggests that censorship can in any context whatsoever work within (pre-emptive, more or less unconscious omissions) just as much as without (enforced). Finally, it seems that as long as the art serves the purpose/aim of the exhibition and the work is not a

direct affront to its supporters, many styles and forms can be accommodated, from the more documentary to the more reflective (Mike Perry's work, for example).

More interestingly perhaps, a number of interviewees, including the curators and an artist I spoke to, intimated that an equally dubious but Western sponsor (for example, a bank) might not have attracted the same kind of rebuke (Pinder, 2017b, 2017d). Moreover, this artist quite rightly pointed out that our own state institutions are implicated more or less directly in the kind of corrupt corporate culture and politics that caused Ackroyd and Harvey to distance themselves from the exhibition. Although the comment was not necessarily directed at Ackroyd & Harvey, such remarks effectively raise the more general question of double standards. Ackroyd & Harvey are, I believe, well aware of this trap (ArtsAdminUk, 2015), and as I have already explained the sponsorship of the exhibition by the Azeri oligarchy is directly linked to Western powers and multinationals. However, these problems are worth exploring a bit further as they draw attention to one of the specificities of the case.

Hatherley (2014) raised similar questions in a recent article analysing the outcry about the Design Museum's Design of the Year award being given to Zaha Hadid's Heydar Aliyev Centre in Baku. Hatherley (2014) points out that numerous other ethically and politically dubious architectural projects would not have attracted the same level of condemnation on account of a noticeable want of what he calls the 'oligarchitecture' factor, in other words, (oriental) philistine ostentation (Hatherley, 2014, no pagination). While I am not claiming that Ackroyd & Harvey's actions were guided by a form of unconscious orientalism, there is good reason to suppose that, despite the clear economic and political links to Europe, a similar cultural unconscious is at work in this context. I would go as far as to argue that Leyla Aliyev and the manner in which people react to her capture something

of the phenomenon, adding a strong gendered dimension to the question of 'race'. In the literature produced by her critics she can as appear as a human personification of the 'oligarchitecture' factor, while in the literature and testimonies of those who support and defend her, she represents both an embodiment of cultural integrity. Hughes and Marriott (2015), in fact, summarise this paradox when they state that 'some describe her as vacuous, with little interest in anything apart from herself. Others find her charming, engaged and genuinely interested in the environmental causes she champions' (p.53). It should be noted that this split has in itself a culturalist character. Aliyev appears to embody, as female, both Azerbaijan's heritage and future, and what Mulhern (2015, p.134) has termed the philistine 'anti-cultural' principle (also often female) that obstructs a truer realisation of culture and its principle (a more authentic, less commodified and oppressive form of Azeri culture or more genuine kind of environmentalism, ethical principles, etc.). I am less concerned with discussing what such views say about Aliyev than with asking what such views say about those who hold or reproduce them, consciously or not. If there is an orientalism at work here, my view is that it should be taken as a displaced expression of an antagonism consequent upon culture's intensified subsumption that defines the here and now of the UK just as much as an 'exotic' elsewhere. The artist who states that the institution of culture in the UK is soaked in the power of private and corporate money is, among other things, pointing to this reality, which some appear to be more comfortable with than others (Pinder, 2017d).

While the objection that another Western sponsor would not have provoked the same kind of outcry needs some serious qualification ('Western' arms dealers and BP obviously do!), such an objection also appears to point to a malaise traversing the ideal of culture itself. If Aliyev is an embodiment of philistine

ostentation in the eyes of her critics, for her own partisans, she is in fact a variant of the much more familiar figure of the 'beautiful soul' discussed in chapter 2 through Forster's fictional figure of Ms Schlegel but also Mrs Narula, the wife of the Indian billionaire. In a not dissimilar fashion, the appointed guardian of Azeri national heritage and spirit entertains a close relation to the political and economic drives she is supposed to elevate and complement. She shows that, despite widespread cruelty and violence, spoliation and destruction, the humanist values of culture, conservation and the nation can be realised. In doing so, she also shows how the civilities of art and culture play a key role in softening the edges of an altogether more muscular economic and political power.

The next part, which is more of an epilogue than a fully-fledged discussion, presents how Ackroyd & Harvey responded artistically to the event. This brief presentation will give me the opportunity to reflect on the alternative to affirmative culture before concluding.

#### **5.4 *Pelt (After Living Skin)***

Sometime after Ackroyd & Harvey decided to dissociate themselves from the touring show, the duo made a piece titled *Pelt (After Living Skin)* (2015), which was presented at the Display Gallery as part of an exhibition titled *Sunday in the Park with Ed* (2015). The name Ed is a reference to Édouard Manet, who first presented the painting *Le Déjeuner sur L'Herbe* (mentioned in the Proust passage in chapter 2) at the Salon des Refusés. The exhibition, as a whole, aimed to interrogate the possibility of transgression and the status of the avant-garde today (Pinder, 2017c).

As the title suggests, the work was made out of the remnant of the work presented at the Old Sorting Office. In contrast to the lush living skin of the tiger,

the pelt was loosely slung onto a piece of rope tied between the walls of the gallery. With part of its hessian fabric made visible, it hung limply, dishevelled and yellowed on account of over-exposure. It created what Hughes (2015, no pagination) justly calls 'a poignant image of death'. To accompany the work and as part of the programme of talks that formed part of the exhibition, the artists held a discussion with the journalist Rachel Fensham about some of the issues surrounding the infrastructural make-up of the London exhibition (Pinder, 2017c).

This piece provides an interesting counterpoint to the work presented during *Here Today...* (2014) on a number of counts. Through its creation out of the destruction of the old, the work gives expression to loss while also marking a future-bound opening that temporalises and negates the present, marking the resistance of the work to its commodified status. The image of catastrophe that replaces the arrested image of grace created previously does not only gesture towards the scene of the tiger's death. It also functions as an index of a larger kind of exhaustion, that is, the exhaustion of non-commodified spheres of life and resources. It also functions as an index of the exhaustion of critical art in the face of contemporary capitalism. The photographic image in both cases takes on a paradigmatic value as a medium of artistic and social contemporaneity, while perhaps not belonging to the same contemporary. *Living Skin* (2014) became an image that fed a mediatized spectacle. The work could have gone on to the Venice Biennale, which arguably refracts, as a transcultural art space, a transnational and globalized world. Instead, the artists employed a different strategy. The work was given a renewed and radically different meaning and form within the context of a smaller exhibition. Within this context, the work gave form to the social antagonism that traversed it, and in doing so found ways of distinguishing itself 'from the ever-same inventory in obedience to the need for the exploitation of

capital' (Adorno, 1997, p.21). *Pelt (After Living Skin)*'s theatrical re-temporalising of the frozen time does not produce 'the vigorous and luxuriant growth of a true work of art' (Proust, 2010, p.438). However, the death and birth of the form, which it presents, points to the limits of brutality, that is, both to its intolerable extremes and to the possibility of its end.

## 5.5 Conclusion

This chapter is the conclusion of the third area of inquiry of this thesis focused on affirmative art and alternatives to a new affirmative art, which I have been arguing is one of the effects on art of certain resilience practices in policy. In comparison to the Cruzvillegas–Platform case, the A & H case examined in this chapter added a number of layers to the inquiry. The analysis went beyond the confines of the museum in its discussion of an exhibition that, in effect, provided the basis for part of a biennale exhibition that was held in Venice. The discussion was also made more complex by virtue of the nexus of Euro-Asian economic, social and political relations involved in the case as well as the exhibition's relation to conservation and the IUCN as charity, through which I inflected the idea of affirmative culture but also culture-as-resource differently.

After an account of the exhibition, I provided a detailed discussion of the relations and dangers embedded in these relations for art, which went beyond a discussion of socio-symbolic legitimation to consider the modes of economic valorization art and conservation partake in. After exploring the different objections to a 'boycott' as well as the limitations of these objections, I went on to explore A & H's response to the event, which was presented some months later in a London gallery. The short presentation and analysis established that one of the virtues of the work for my own analysis lays in the manner in which it presented



very clearly art's apparent capacity to self-legislate and resist becoming a bearer of exchange value. If the photographic form was shown to have a paradigmatic value in both of Ackroyd & Harvey's works for thinking about the artistic and social contemporary, their theatrical indexicality was also shown, like Mendel's photographs, to be a key characteristic of art's ability to present and retain social antagonism and, in doing so, present another ideal of art.

## 6. Conclusion

### 6.1 Summary of thesis and findings

Before I go on to discuss the originality and significance of my findings, I provide a summary of the discussion and explain how the discussion answered the research questions. I restate the questions below:

Q.1a What are the histories of discourses and practices of resilience?

Q.1b How and why did resilience become a key notion in cultural administration in the UK in the context of the most recent economic crisis?

Q.2a. What are the scope and ambivalences of different resilience discourses and practices in the field of culture in the UK?

Q.2b. How can the notion of culture-as-resource help to clarify the scope and ambivalences of dominant resilience discourses and practices in this context?

Q.2c. How can the notion of civility help to clarify the scope and ambivalences of alternative resilience discourses and practices in this context?

Q.3a. Beyond alternative resiliences, what other ways can art and criticism be understood to perform a critical negation of the dominant rationales of resilience?

Q.3b. What alternatives can art and criticism offer to a reconciled affirmative culture?

I gave a partial but nevertheless comprehensive enough answer to Q.1a in chapter 1 where I explored how discourses of resilience and the practices of risk and crisis management that these discourses legitimise shadow the history of neoliberalism. While discourses of resilience do not have a single point of genesis, I argued building on existing genealogies that the ecological conceptions of resilience that

emerged in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis were particularly influential in the spread of the notion. In chapter 2, I confirmed that the development of resilience discourses and practices followed a similar historical development to the one described by other critics, notably Walker and Cooper. The authors (2011, p.157) claim that resilience discourses and practices ‘moved from a position of critique (against the destructive consequences of orthodox resource economics) to one of collusion with an agenda of resource management that collapses ecological crisis into the creative destruction of a truly Hayekian financial order’. The reference to Hayek and crisis understood in purely ecological terms are not entirely cogent when examining resilience in culture. Nevertheless, the statement provides an accurate enough summary of the historical trajectory of resilience in cultural administration and policy. The claim was verified and question 1b partially answered through a ‘pre-history’ of resilience in culture, which departed from an discussion of the National Theatre conference on cultural value. I revealed that the term appeared in field through debates and interventions that were aimed at challenging New Labour instrumentalism and economism. The metaphor of resilience was not a fully-fledged notion at this stage. Yet, it was shown to bear a privileged relation to ecological rationality and rationales of ‘culture-as-resource’ characteristic of the Left-leaning, post-welfarist policy discourse of DEMOS and its founder Geoff Mulgan.

My analysis then showed that it is MMM and its associates who made a major contribution to the development of resilience thinking in the field of culture. At their hands, resilience appeared as a discourse concerned with the financial management and sustainability of cultural organisations in the context of an on-going economic and environmental crisis. From then on, I demonstrated throughout my analysis of chapter 2 and 3 that while resilience practices and

discourses were varied, they generally retained a connection to crisis management and the socialisation of risks linked to crises, whether economic or environmental. In showing this, I answered Q.1b and Q.2a.

Through the analysis of MMM's work, I also started to confirm that the expedient management of crisis and socialisation of risks performed by resilience discourses and practices partakes in an intensified subsumption of culture. The notion of 'culture-as-resource' helped to make sense of this fact, while also helping to account for the ambivalences of this mode of socialisation of risks and crisis, which included the more or less witting encouragement of exploitative labour practices through the promotion of volunteering. The work of MMM also showed that while the ideal and principle of culture tends to be subjugated to a more utilitarian rationale in this context, culture and ecology also appear as ambivalent ideological supplements that legitimise expedient rationales of resource management. My analysis of MMM finished with a discussion of the work of poet and policy consultant Mark Robinson whose definitions of resilience have been particularly influential in the field.

After that, I furthered the inquiry that forms the basis of Q.1b by examining in detail the cuts to culture that precipitated the rise of resilience. Through the analysis of the ACE's current strategy as well as their PR videos, I continued to examine the rhetorically mystifying role that art and ecology play in legitimising an institution in the throws a deep crisis of legitimacy and means. Chapter 2 showed that ecology and environmental concerns were not only rhetorical. They have a basis in policy practice as well, which suggests that the scope of resilience practices (Q.2a-b) in national cultural policy is diverse. ACE's environmental policies are, in effect, novel. They connect to resilience agendas inasmuch as enhancing the environmental sustainability of the field contributes to the

management of environmental risks while improving the business acumen of organisations in the field. A historical analysis of the wider formation that has emerged around groups such as Tipping Point and Julie's Bicycle also showed that the history of these policies is fraught with institutional conflict, and that the policies themselves arose from pressure from actors in the field who were disgruntled with the fact that ACE did not seem to take environmental issues seriously (Q.1b). In relation to the second area of investigation, this analysis did not only confirm that resilience practices and discourses could have significantly different aims, it also showed that practices of 'culture-as-resource' could have more progressive ends. Nonetheless, I argued that these environmental policies also played an ambivalent role in legitimising an institution in crisis and distracting from the on-going restructuration of the field.

The rest of the second chapter examined programmes relating to building financial resilience through philanthropy, which are the pillar of resilience agendas in culture. I focused on the first Catalyst programme that ran from 2012-2015 as well as the training programmes associated to Catalyst. Longer histories aside, the Catalyst programme is best viewed as the culmination of the politics of privatisation and marketisation that took a decisive turn in 1976 with the creation of the Association for Business Sponsorship of the Arts (ABSA), later renamed Arts & Business, under the Labour government of James Gallagher. Here, the question of resource management came to bear on the analysis in two ways. The first is that these programmes, like the work of MMM, have as object the expedient management and distribution of culture's financial resources for the socialisation of risks linked to the cuts. Second, I showed that, through these programmes, culture also becomes a socio-symbolic and economic resource for private investors. While these programmes were partially successful in the socialising

risks linked to the cuts, they were not without their ambivalences. Notably, I argued that they reinforced the power and privilege of larger organisations and metropolitan centres, increased competition for funds, uncertainty and exhaustion in the sector. The analysis of the training programmes, which was an opportunity to revisit aspects of the MMM discussion, also confirmed that while private investment has been naturalised, this naturalisation of private investment has and still does require a heavy hand from the state and its partners.

This part of the analysis also started to uncover the mixed temporality that characterises subsumption and uneven development. This mixed temporality offered a starting point for examining alternative resilience practices, which nevertheless conform to the rationales of 'culture-as-resource'. This occasion was provided by the alternative fundraising strategies (arthole medal for philanthropy, Live Art Aid campaigns, alternative auctions etc.) of LADA, AA and HLA. Then, I went on to review the consortium's work on ethical fundraising policies. While the question of culture as a resource still came to bear on the discussion of corporate brand management, I explored these policies and problems through the notion of 'civility', which enabled to present these policies as alternative resilience practices while exploring the ambivalences and limits of the socialisation of risks performed by dominant resilience discourses and practices. I started to answer Q.2c by showing that the notion of 'civility' was useful to make sense of how the private investment of oil or arms corporations, which derive reputational and economic benefits from an association with culture, is linked to the production of extremes of violence on other geopolitical scenes (notably the global south). As with the environmental policies and rhetoric, I also argued that these ethical policies, which aim to limit and distance these extremes through boycott-like strategies, were deeply ambivalent. The idea of civility also helped to clarify these ambivalences

(Q.2c). The analysis showed that, through a process of ethico-aesthetic ‘educelement’, these ethical policies support divestment from certain kinds of undesirable forms of private investment, while also contributing to embed the broader turn to private investment by presenting private investment as an ethical, and not political, issue. Beyond these ambivalences and limits, I argued through an analysis of the final event of the consortium’s *TTMR* programme that this initiative had the virtue of raising problems and demands, which had a broader political value that is not reducible to the question of state management and administration of culture.

Chapter 3, 4 and 5 were all focused on groups, events and contexts that featured as part of *TTMR* or that are closely related to the organisers of the programme. This was the case of Lab of ii, who created *C.R.A.S.H* an experiment in post-crisis and post-capitalist living for Arts Admin’s Two Degrees festival. Their work and appropriation of resilience discourses provided the means to further investigate the uses of resilience discourses within the context of social movements, an investigation initiated through the discussion of *TTMR*. The case also provided the opportunity to confirm that while their alternative resilience discourse partakes in an art of crisis management, their work also showed that resilience can be radically refunctioned away from its more liberal governmental uses.

In relation to Q.2c, I showed that the notion of civility, re-worked through a reference to the work of Shannon Jackson, was useful for making sense of how the group’s socially-engaged practice highlights the violence of civilization and crisis while also offering utopian-dystopian ways of imaginatively shaping social norms away from their capitalistic historical becoming. This alternative development rationale was presented in the booklet that outlines the ethics and principles of

permaculture, in the workshops and educational sessions that the group ran, as well as in the performances that took place during the project, including in the performance of Becky Beinart.

Finally, I discussed the ambivalences of the work of Lab of ii as well as of their re-appropriations of resilience in terms of civility (Q.2c). By contrast to the ethico-aesthetic 'educement' at work in *TTMR*, I argued that the left-libertarian ethos of their practice and discourse unconsciously mimics the rationale of the market, and in doing so risks becoming a vector of de-subjectification and accommodation, if not reconciliation, with capitalism. The aesthetic and pathos of the radicalised enclave and utopian community is the perfect example of how resistance to capitalistic modes of development can become an ambivalent accommodation with it.

Opening the third area of inquiry of this thesis (Q.3a.b) through the last part of the chapter provided a way of going beyond this ambivalence and 'beyond' resilience. A genealogical account of the post-Adornonian, romantic concept of art, which I argued, after Osborne and Cunningham, finds its roots in Friedrich Schlegel's concept of literature and the novel, enabled my analysis to account for how art, ontologically construed, is capable of presenting social antagonism as an immanent aspect of its form. While theatricality features in a number of ways in my thesis, including through the art cases, it is this presentation of antagonism that I termed 'theatrical'. Theatricality was understood to be the phenomenological marker of art's perpetual crisis of form and incompleteness, of its character as non-contemporaneous but future-orientated ruin that performs a disjunctive temporalisation and negation of the historical space of its presentation. The theatricality of autonomous art is the site of art's resistance to subsumption and to its condition of bearer of exchange value. This negation is also a negation of



resilience inasmuch as the latter legitimates and effects this process of subsumption.

After a theoretical presentation of the idea, I explored in a preliminary way how this concept of art is at work in the bench plaques-fragments created by the anonymous collective Quantitative Teasing for Lab of ii's project. I then extended the concept to the rest of *C.R.A.S.H.*, showing that this concept of art can help to make sense of the formal aspects of the project rather than its averred socio-political intent.

The last two, shorter chapters were dedicated to exploring this concept of art while contrasting it with what I termed, after Marcuse, 'affirmative culture', that is, functionalised art and culture that legitimises economic and political powers (Q.3a-b). I presented this new affirmative culture as one of the consequences of the subsumption that resilience discourses and practices legitimate and effect. In chapter 4, I discussed Cruzvillegas' *Empty Lot*, a living sculpture made of giant scaffolding, planters and plants that the Mexican artist installed in Tate's Turbine Hall. His installation foregrounded alternative climate-resilient forms of indigenous agriculture while avoiding the romanticisation of these practices that groups such as Lab of ii tended to reproduce. I presented *Empty Lot*'s resolutely urban imagination as a critique of the urban development which the Tate and the Southbank, linchpins of 'creative' London, are part of and which makes the Tate so attractive to corporate sponsors. Thus, in this case, considerations of urbanity and urban redevelopment were central in approaching the question of sponsorship and private investment, while also being a key in the assessment of art's capacity to position itself critically within the site and relations that constitute it.

My argument was that despite its forceful character and gesture, the commission made for the Turbine Hall also feeds in an ambivalent way the

perceived public value of the institution. For, public/cultural value is, in part, what private corporations such as BP seek in order to enhance their own reputations and manage their brands. Without critiquing the intention or concept organising Cruzvillegas' work, I went on to discuss how the Platform festival *Deadline*, to which Cruzvillegas' work served as a *de facto* background, dialectically undid and realised the principle embedded in Cruzvillegas' work. The festival, which was a protest against BP sponsorship of the Tate, undid Cruzvillegas' work in the sense that it expanded the phenomenologically-bounded concept of site that Cruzvillegas' work presupposed by including a critique of sponsorship and the museum as a node in spaces of flow or what Platform call the 'carbon web'. But the unsanctioned festival, which was internationalist in perspective and make up, realised Cruzvillegas' work inasmuch as it actualised the concept of the empty lot of land and space that reclaims life away from exchange value. I settled on South African photographer Mendel's theatrical portraits of people in their flooded homes to finish the analysis of the festival and anchor my discussion of negative autonomy.

The final chapter continued to confirm that the practices legitimised and effected by resilience discourses and practices produce affirmative culture. However, I also continued to confirm that art is capable of being an alternative to affirmative culture (Q3.a-b). In this chapter, I examined *Here Today...*, an exhibition organised in celebration of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the IUCN list and funded by Azeri oligarchs. The case was interesting for a number of reasons. The first is that this less well-known case raised a number of more complex questions than the Tate case, partly on account of its connection to the IUCN. I concentrated on *Living Skin* and *Pelt*, which Ackroyd & Harvey made for and in response to the exhibition to highlight the plight and resilience of tigers, and which I presented as instances

of affirmative and negatively autonomous art. Urbanity did not come to bare so much on the analysis. However, in this chapter, I considered how environmental conservation and heritage, which also conform to the rationales of 'culture-as-resource', formed key socio-symbolic and economic assets for corporate and political powers. After a detailed exploration of the complexities of the case, I finished with the analysis of *Pelt*, which I argued recovered a theatrical temporality that allowed it to present the social truth of culture's subsumption.

## **6.2 Limitations and future areas of work**

I have already acknowledged some of the limitations of my thesis. Amongst other things, the limitations relate to the time scales of the project, which have affected how I have engaged with policy but also the cases. Future work based on this thesis would take into account more recent policy developments. While I have covered a lot of ground in the discussion, it would be valuable to extend the discussion of the key concepts of this thesis to other cases as well, in order to see whether the terms that I propose have a broader kind of generality. Other limitations relate to my access to practices I was writing about. For example, discussions of the case in chapter 3, in particular, could be complemented with further fieldwork and investigations into permaculture as a practice. This knowledge is not strictly necessary for a successful analysis of the material, but it could provide additional grounding. Finally, there are limitations which are more akin to exclusions and which relate to how I excluded a discussion of Brexit or theatre. Having acknowledged some of the limitations of my work, I would like to present some of the future areas of inquiry that these limitations have opened up.

The fifth chapter of this thesis, in particular, opened up a number of questions, which I will seek to pursue, and which relate more directly to theorising

the place of art and culture in a globalised economy, a problem that became central as this research developed. I envisage that I will write an article focused on the art discussed in the chapter. But I also envisage that there would be a separate article that would focus in more depth on the socio-economic relations and problems that underpinned the exhibition. I think such an article would also have scholarly and public value but would necessitate further research.

I largely excluded a discussion of drama and theatre in this thesis. However, throughout my time researching this thesis, I also engaged with how ‘culture’ manifests as a topic in drama and theatre. This inquiry started through a sustained engagement with the histories of criticism in the disciplines of performance and theatre studies but was then transferred to an examination of actual dramatic and theatrical works. So, I anticipate that this inquiry, which ran parallel to my thesis, will form the stepping stone for a longer-term investigation of what could be termed, after Mulhern (2015, p.1), ‘condition of culture’ discourse in drama, theatre and performance writing. By doing this, I hope to contribute to clarifying how ‘culture’ is a problem and topic that is germane to the field and study of theatre and performance (as opposed to the proper object of cultural studies). Amongst others, Jackson (2004) touches on these questions in her illuminating discussions of the histories of performance and theatre criticism. My work would be elaborated in those tracks but would be extended to a comparative discussion of dramas and theatrical performances in order to establish the scope and different variants of this imagination in the field.

### **6.3 Originality, significance and implications**

#### **6.3.1 Contribution to critical discourse about resilience**

After having presented a detailed summary of my findings, I discuss the originality, significance and implications of my work. I make two main claims to originality, which relate to the recontextualization of the critique of resilience in culture as well as to the approach I have taken to perform this recontextualization. The other, more minor, relates to my integration of environmental problems within practical materialist research. I start with the more minor claim, which fits within the discussion of my contribution to scholarship about resilience.

By taking cultural policy as a starting point for investigation, it did not feel entirely appropriate to problematise ‘culture’ along post-humanist lines. However, my work has endeavoured to integrate a discussion of environmental concerns, which I showed are an integral part of policy discourses and practices and, more broadly, of the romantic/post-romantic topic of culture. Beyond policy, environmental concerns featured in all the chapters and discussions of art. This integration of environmental concerns contributes in a modest way to a recodification of discussions of art, performance and neoliberalism, which tend to focus on issues of labour and/or issues of political economy. By extension, such an approach recodifies discussions focused on post-Thatcher cultural policy, which have also tended, within and without the field of theatre and performance, to ignore these issues (Harvie, 2013; Hewison, 2014).

This leads me to discuss the first main contribution to knowledge. The analysis of chapter 2 and 3, in particular, showed that while a number of characteristics of resilience discourses and practices identified by other critics recur within the field of culture, I have demonstrated that these characteristics are subject to procedures and schemas that are specific to culture. Thus, dominant

discourses and practices of resilience in all their diversity can be understood as conforming to the rationale of 'culture-as-resource'. Turning to the notion of 'civility' to account for alternative resilience practices and discourses (TTMR and chapter 3) provided a way of bringing to the fore the problem of violence, which features prominently in discussions of resilience, while giving the problem a specifically 'culturalist' frame. Affirmative culture and the Adornonian concept of art that I developed in the second part of the thesis, which are notions that belong to the traditions of cultural Marxism, were introduced to make sense of the effects of resilience discourses and practices on art and art's resistance to these effects. Thus, the common place of culture unites, beyond their vast differences and particularities, the discourses of Holden, MMM, ACE, TTMR, and Lab of ii, but also the discourses of Landry, Aliyev as well as those of Adorno and Marcuse. In this sense, while alternatives to dominant resilience discourses and the alternatives to resilience in art exist, none of the above fall outside the procedures of culturalist discourse and practice.

Before I move on to a discussion of my contribution to cultural and practical materialist research in the field of theatre and performance studies, I would like to say a few more things regarding the categories I have employed in this thesis and how they relate to each other. 'Culture-as-resource' and 'civility', on the one hand, and 'affirmative culture' and 'art', on the other, function as pairs. The first pair relates to art as a heteronomous practice, and the other to art as autonomous practice. However, my discussions have shown that culture-as-resource and affirmative culture as well as civility and art also form pairs. In chapter 2, for instance, I showed that the rationale of culture-as-resource in policy has a rhetorically affirmative dimension, which makes resilience an ambivalent discourse of legitimization of and reconciliation with subsumption. Equally, in

chapter 4 and 5, where I concentrated on affirmative culture, I showed that art and culture become affirmative all the while entering directly into processes of valorisation as resources. So, the apparent opposition between ‘culture-as-resource’ and ‘affirmative culture’ is, in fact, a resolvable antinomy that appears to traverse each term that constitutes the opposition. The same applies to civility and art, which I showed in chapter 3, form a pair, with the latter notion helping to account in formal terms for the negative and critical charge that animated events and projects such as *TTMR* or *C.R.A.S.H.* The analysis suggested that the boundaries between these categories are not always hard. Cruzvillegas’ work, for example, was presented fitting the category of affirmative and negative autonomy. While at other times, the boundaries should be understood as harder. The autonomy of art is conditional upon the presentation of the antagonisms and contradictions that traverse the heteronomous relations that constitute it as art. However, this presentation of heteronomy has the status of a negation.

There is no doubt that these four terms have an application beyond discussions of resilience. However, as I state in the preceding section, it would also be interesting to see how relevant they are to the analysis of resilience in other contexts. Within the frames of this thesis, though, they have allowed me to map out and totalise the different problems and effects of dominant resilience discourses and practices in a given historical and geographic context, alongside the various forms and cultural practices that critically diverge from it.

### **6.3.2 Contribution to cultural and practical materialist discourse**

I will now continue my discussion by addressing what this research adds to cultural and practical materialist discourse in the study of art, theatre and

performance. I will situate my contribution in relation to the work of Jen Harvie, which in terms of approach and object, is close to mine.

The great strength of Harvie's scholarship is the manner in which it engages with and unifies diverse body of knowledges through a number of 'travelling' concepts embedded in a discipline-specific discourse for the purposes of critique. While I emulated this approach, one of the differences between my research and Harvie's is that I have sought to give the concepts that I use to discuss art the same level of generality as concepts used for discussing policy or governance ('civility' functions on both planes of analysis). As I argued in the introduction, this is not the case in Harvie's more recent work at least, where the discussion of art as genre is given a much lower, art-historical level of generality than ideas of 'governmentality' and 'neoliberalism'. One of the consequences of such a move is that her research makes, wittingly or not, the discussion of the administration of culture its horizon. There is nothing wrong per se with this. It just presupposes a different concept of 'practical criticism', which in turn offers a different idea of what materialist research is. I would like to push this discussion further, not as a way devaluing Harvie's achievements, but rather as a way of developing a potential that is embedded in Harvie's own work, which my close reading of her work has given me the opportunity to develop. It is worth developing as, to the best of my knowledge, no one else has developed this issue within the field of theatre and performance research.

The first point I would like to re-iterate is that the predominance of the concept of 'governmentality' narrows the discussion of cultural politics and art. The discussion of the administration of culture and policy, which the idea of 'governmentality' organises and gives primacy to, is an important aspect of a discussion of culture and politics, but perhaps not the only one to consider for



scholars who do not specialize primarily in cultural policy. Yet, any other conception of politics in culture tends to be absent from Harvie's work. By contrast, in my own analysis, the idea of civility, which was directly related to my discussion of administration and policy, also provided a way of opening up the discussion about the relation between culture and politics beyond cultural policy and administration.

I would argue that the centrality of the concept of governmentality in Harvie's research also means that her discussion of art, however inspiring and perceptive, tends to obscure art's concept. There is little doubt, for me at least, that art and culture bear a relation to policy as well as to the diffusions of ideologies. However, my research suggests that art is not to be thought of primarily as a tool of governmentality or a means to diffuse ideologies of whatever kind.<sup>35</sup> On the contrary, art was shown to be capable of giving 'voice to what ideology hides' (Adorno, 1991, p.39). In this way, it shares with criticism, according to Jones (2004), a delegitimising truth content, one that enables it to present the discrepancy between the promise and pretensions of bourgeois ideology and its reality through its 'free' (but dependent) autonomous form. Its delegitimising truth content makes art part of what Osborne (2013) has called a 'supra-aesthetic regime of truth' (p.44). While I may be exaggerating the features and differences between Harvie's work and my own, I do so in order to clarify the point that the question of the contestation of ideologies can, or maybe should, be derived from a determined concept of art if one is not primarily a cultural policy scholar.

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<sup>35</sup> The idea of art as ideological means of communication finds most probably its origin in last chapter of *Culture and Society* (Williams, 1963).

In order to finish this section, I would like to assert a last distinction between the modes of knowledge production at work in my thesis and the ones presupposed by resilience discourses and practices, which will build on my discussion of transdisciplinarity in art presented in chapter 1 and 3. It will also provide a way of answering how my own criticism produces a negation of the rationales of resilience, which is an aspect of Q.3a that has not been entirely clarified.

Harvie's (2013) nominal integration of the perspectives of ANT in her more recent work provide a good starting point for this discussion. Osborne (2015) has argued that ANT and the work of Felix Guattari, which ANT partially builds on, is a radical and more theoretically refined version of a transdisciplinary mode of knowledge production aimed at inquiring into and acting upon, if not solving, complex life-world and institutional problems such as climate change or health. This is in part why this approach lends itself well to practice-based inquiries or action research, amongst other approaches. The project led by Steve Bottoms (2016) related to flood prevention, which I mentioned in the introduction, is in fact a good example of this approach and what it can achieve. However, I would argue that the resilience discourse of think-tanks reviewed at different points in this thesis also form part of this model of transdisciplinary knowledge production, while remaining theoretically less sophisticated and socially less radical than the work of Bottoms, for instance. In chapter 2 and 4, in particular, these discourses were shown to be transdisciplinary inasmuch as they cut across different disciplinary boundaries in order, following a residual welfarist ethos, to solve or manage 'complex' and 'messy' issues such as the sustainability and resilience of urban centres or the field of culture, the 'reform' of the public service or the efficient delivery of public services and value.

I do not think that this rationale forms a core part of Harvie's work, which is more indebted to a line of scholarship that runs from Raymond Williams and thinking about radical uses of art and culture to Tony Bennett and concerns about the uses of cultural policy. As already suggested, however, embedded within her work, is a conception of transdisciplinarity in materialist research, which I want to contrast to the mode of knowledge production I discuss in the preceding paragraph. I reiterate what this is. Harvie's work is organised by 'travelling', cross-disciplinary generalities. In being so, her work reproduces something of the 'transcendental homelessness' that Lukács (1971, p.41) romantically ascribed to the novel, which I am tempted to compare, using another romantic metaphor, to a kind of homesickness: a feeling and tendency to be at home everywhere (anywhere) yet belonging nowhere. This homesickness makes strange familiar problems and notions, such as 'resilience', in order to re-problematise and re-formulate them. These reformulations and problematisations are not meant to be amenable to immediate policy use. Solving problems is laudable and necessary, no doubt. However, like art, the primary task of this kind of criticism is other: it is to present the contradictions and antagonisms of reality in order to make them more intelligible. In this thesis, I aimed to make this affect and approach my own and, in many regards, I think that the critique of resilience gave me the opportunity to clarify its character and value. By taking this approach, I have sought to refine an understanding of what constitutes a philosophically-inclined sociology of culture, which is related yet different to other sociological or ethnographic approaches to the study of culture or to more strictly philosophical or theoretical discussions of culture, art and performance.

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## **8. Appendix**

I include in this appendix the information circulated to participants prior to the interview.

### **The Participant Information Sheet for John Pinder's PhD Research Project**

I am a researcher and theatre maker, based at the University of Leeds. I am inviting you to take part in a research project that I started in October 2014. This information sheet provides the basic details about the research. Please read the following paragraphs to ensure that you understand the purpose of the research, its context and what it involves. We can discuss it further upon meeting.

#### **Context and Purpose of Research**

My research examines the idea of resilience in theatre and performance. My research is both social and artistic in scope, proposing to investigate the idea across cultural policy programmes, theatre texts and performances. Through this investigation my research aims to problematise the scope and value of an idea that is associated to Arts Council England's policies that promote the financial and environmental sustainability of a sector hit by cuts and restructuring processes. My research is premised on the observation that resilience, which has become an important socio-political idea in wider areas of policy and politics, has not been sufficiently scrutinised in the field of theatre and performance itself. As part of my study I am planning to speak to a range of artists and organisations.

#### **How would I like to involve you?**

Your work interests me because I am writing about an event during which ... was mentioned. As part of this, I'm also writing about .... work titled .... I would like the opportunity to talk to you about Here Today... and the context around as well as the issues that arose in relation to the funding of the exhibition.

### **Using Information, Data Protection, Anonymity and Confidentiality**

Depending on circumstances and needs, I might make an audio recording of the interview or conversation. It is also fine if you would prefer not to record the conversation or stop the recording at any stage. After our conversation I will transcribe our conversation for the record and plan to store it safely on University servers to avoid unauthorised access, loss or destruction of data. The information that would be processed during the research will be used as part of my PhD research. It is very likely to inform the writing of my thesis, which is due to finish in 2017-2018. In this respect, the information that I am seeking to collect from you will be relevant to my study and I am not planning to use the information for any other purpose than my research. Any use of the material I make will consider the original context in which it was discussed, and will not be used out of context. I will also ensure that my information is kept up to date and will contact you again if I have any doubts about the accuracy of my information.

It is also possible that I may refer to your work in conferences, if I attend any in the next two years. If this is the case, as mentioned above, the information that I will collect from you for the purposes of the research will be rendered with accuracy and processed with your authorisation. Any sensitive information that you do not wish to disclose will not be used and any other sensitive information would be used with your authorisation. Any direct quotes that I may use from the interview will remain anonymous. However, you should also be aware that despite

data being made anonymous you might still be identifiable by virtue of having participated in my research. We can discuss this possibility further and any other risk our interview may pose to you, people around you or the organisation you work with. These may include issues of mobility and access, or may relate to the nature of my study or information disclosed. I do not want my research to be cause of distress, and therefore you will also have the right to withdraw your participation at any moment in time (my contact details are below).

John Pinder, PhD Candidate,

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9JT

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